

## **YS/LJS DISCUSSION & INTERNAL BULLETINS (*selection*) 1962 – 1968**

*(all French texts -- 'Preuve finale' en Anglais -à vérifier)  
(\* texts on file)*

YDB: Youth Discussion Bulletin (internal, members only)

NEC: National Executive Council, YS-LJS

**1962-05May99a** YSA-BC: “Tasks & perspectives of the Vancouver YSA”

**1965-05MayAa** Youth DB - Vol. 1 No. 2: (3 NEC documents)

1965-05MayAb-1-8 Draft Political Resolution

1965-05MayBa Revised Draft Constitution (NEC) Articles 1-5

1965-05MayCa Our campus work (NEC)

**1966-04AprA-0 Vol. 2 No. 1 Political Resolution (Founding Convention, 1965)**

1966-04AprA YS-NEC Political Resolution (3 new pp.)

1966-04AprB Political Report

1966-04AprC YSF (draft Press) Report

1966-04AprD Comments on YSF (Blain)

1966-05May0 May Plenum: High Schools, by J. Jones

1966-05May1-7 YDB May Plenum: High Schools

**1967-02FebAa YS DB Vol. 3 No. 1 Feb. 1967**

*\*1967-Apr-Vol.3 No. 3 Draft Political Resolution*

**1967-06JuneAa YS/LJS DB Vol. 3 No. 6 Anti-War Resolution + YSF Note**

1967-06JuneAb Notes on YSF (J. Frazier, Vancouver) For a youth magazine

1967-06JuneB-1-8 Draft Anti-war Resolution (NEC)

**1967-06JuneC-0 YS DB Vol. 3 No. 7 Draft Campus Resolution (NEC)**

1967-06June1-5 Our university work

**1967-06JuneC-1a YS-LJS Discussion Bulletin Vol. 3 No. 8**

**1967-06JuneD YS/LJS DB Vol. 3 No. 9 Resisters & Anti-war resolution**

**1967-07JulyA YS/LJS DB Vol. 3 No. 11**

1967-07JulyAb1-5 On our High School Work (CEC)

1967-07JulyB1-3 Amendments to the Political Resolution (NEC)

1967-07JulyC1-4 The Organizational Character of the YS

1967-07JulyDA On Contact work (B. Houghton)

1967-07JulyEa Notes on the draft Anti-war resolution (Scarlett, Karl, Jones)

1967-07JulyF1-5 Reply to Comrade Frazer (J. Crandall)

1967-07JulyGa SAEWV: Perspectives and discussion

**1968-05May-1 On Our Press --by Ian A.**

**1968-06JuneAa YS/LJS DB Vol.4 No.1**

1968-06JuneAb Canadian Universities & Student Work

1968-06JuneAc YS & Student anti-war movement (Amendment to Canadian Universities & Student Work)

1968-06JuneAd Campus Work--Amendment to Cdn Univ.&Student Work

1968-06JuneB Intro to Pre-convention discussion (J. Frazer)

1968-06JuneC Political Resolution (adopted 1967)

*\*1968-JuneD (Duplicate 1967 Campus Resolution) Our university work*



*\*1968-JuneE (Duplicate 1967-06JuneB) Anti-War Resolution (adopted 1967)*

**1968-06JuneFa YS/LJS DB Vol. 4 No. 2 Press Res., Pol Res amendments**

**1968-06JuneIa YS/Ljs DB Vol. 4 No. 3 On Campus Work**

**1968-06JuneIi YS/LJS DB Vol.4 No.4 The Builder**

1968-06JuneIj The Builder: BC, Edmonton, Ontario, Montreal

**1968-06June-Ka YS/LJS CB Vol. 4 No. 5 (submissions)**

**1968-06June-La YS/LJS DB Vol. 4 No. 6**

**1968-06JuneNa YS/LJS DB Vol.4 No.8a Anti-War, High Schools**

1968-06JuneNb LSA/YS Relations (presented 1963, adopted in 1965)

1968-06JuneNf HS 1: High School contribution

**1968-07Jul YS/LJS IB Vol.4 No.8b(9) LSA-LSO Resolutions**

*\*1968-July (adopted) LSA/LSO Political Resolution*

*\*1968-July (adopted by LSA/LSO Convention) Quebec Resolution*

*\*1968-July (adopted by LSA/LSO Convention) Canada-US Relations*

*\*1968-July (adopted LSA/LSO Conv.) Organizational Resolution*

Toronto

I.

# TASKS AND PERSPECTIVES OF THE VANCOUVER YSA...MAY.62

(R.T. for the Vancouver YSA)

(Ruth Tait?)

We will deal in this document with the situation the Vancouver YSA finds itself in presently, and in passing also mention how our orientation(wh ich is the orientation stated in the majority documents of the YSA, Summer, 61) is logically expressed within the framework of this situation.

We will try to illustrate the different facets of our work in the BC NDY in regards to the following:

1. Clubs
2. Provincial Executive
3. Federal Executive
4. Left-Wing Caucus
5. the press....Viewpoint, Young Socialist, YSF

But we will begin by giving a short sketch of the Vancouver local itself, of its membership and its methods of functioning.

.....

As regards membership, the Vancouver YSA has grown from 5 or 6 to about 13 in the past few months. This growth has been largely, we feel, due to our work with the YSF.

The ages range from 14 to 22.

The YSA meets regularly every 2 weeks, and more frequently before any important activity. Its prime role is that of a disciplined caucus within the left wing caucus and the YSF association.

The YSA participates in the weekly educationals given by leading comrades in the Vancouver YSA, rather than giving its own educationals at this time.

.....

THE CLUBS:

The YSA in Vancouver is active in 4 of the 5 Vancouver clubs, with virtual undisputed control of 3 of them. Important positions are held. It is our policy to aim for educational, rather than functional positions, and we have 4 comrades who are the educational or program chairmen of their clubs, with more in other positions.

The club where we have the most comrades is in East Vancouver. Organized by one of the YSA here, it is generally acknowledged by both the left and right here to be the best in the city from the point of view of consistent performance and activity. To the broad left wing, it is a sort of Utopia. Solidly working class in outlook and in the composition of its members, it discusses Marxist works and issues with thoroughness and interest. Militant and uncompromising on basic issues, it has earned the right to speak out strongly due to its admirable performance record. It is unchallenged. This club is the work of our comrades, and we have recruited 3 new YSA members from it.

The North Shore club recently went through a long and bitter struggle on the specific subject of the Vanguard and Trotskyism generally...some of our comrades had been selling the Vanguard and were under severe pressure because of it. Expulsions were threatened. We were dealing here with a vicious and powerful right winger. But our comrades were, with the help of the strong left here, victorious and now North Vancouver thrives with ourselves in the leadership

These two examples are used to illustrate the fact that the climate here is ripe for, demands, in fact, certain struggles and some degree of militancy. We do not choose to fight about Vanguard in a youth club, but sometimes these battles are thrust upon us.

Also, it should be clear from the descriptions of the two clubs that, far from being isolated, the left wing has a large degree of control here. The left wing clubs are generally acknowledged to be the better ones, to have been the ones which build the movement as a whole the best.

It is further significant that our struggles in the NDY here are with the treacherous left..the stalinist left, the ~~revisionist~~ the

reformist left, the centrist left...far more than the right, who are now scattered and disorganized. And this makes a great deal of difference in the way we carry out our orientation.

, This is why fights arise on a direct and sophisticated plane about Trotskyism, reformism and bureaucracy. We battle with the ideologically opposed left on all but the basic issues, not, in the main, with a vicious and spiteful right wing who are ignorant of politics.

#### THE PROVINCIAL EXECUTIVE :

The battle with the left is well illustrated in the case of the NDY provincial executive in B.C. That executive has a left majority which is responsible to our left caucus. Much of what the left caucus does originates from the YSA. At least recently this is getting to be more and more the case. Also, one of our comrades is now the secretary of the executive, having the full confidence of the president and considerable co-operation from the rest of the table officers.

But none the less there are wide differences of opinion. The president is generally with us all the way. The vice-president is an ex-stalinist who goes along with us on basic issues, but fights with us on many others...and so it goes. But those who fight with us generally do so within the framework of left wing politics. The right wing is by now too demoralized and diunited to be much trouble. We have never, for example, had to fight seriously with anyone except for a few individual right wingers, who were soon booted down, on such issues as the banning of Press and Vanguard.

As things stand at the moment, the table officers do most of the real work of the executive. The right wing have proven themselves inefficient and disinterested. We try to involve them, but are generally unsuccessful. But it is not a case of our dropping them...they dropped us, or are trying to.

#### THE FEDERAL EXECUTIVE :

The generally radical atmosphere in B.C. manifests itself also in the attitude of the B.C. NDY generally and of our comrades towards the Federal Executive and towards Picket.

Here the YSA, which attempts to act as a guiding and modifying force on the rampant adventurism and ultra-leftism prevalent here, has an especially difficult task. In B.C. the clubs are quivering with furious indignation at Picket. He has insulted us in every way possible, threatened to disband us, and assaulted our president both verbally and physically.



All of this has so infuriated people here, that there was quite serious talk of lynching and head-breaking after the last council meeting. It took the upmost persuasive powers of our comrades to talk the executive and the clubs into channeling thier fury into constructive building of the movement rather than fist-fighting.

A large and stormy left caucus was called, and we turned the tide there by convincing people that in order to protect ourselves from Piket, in order to combatt him really effectively we had to build the NDY. We advanced proposals for a youth election rally, for a co-ordinating committee of the Vancouver clubs, and for expanding the number of clubs. It was up-hill work but we made it, and now the NDY is in fine, militant, but cautious form out here for the thime being at least.

This is our role; to guide the restless and wide-spread discontent in the BC youth movement into meaningful action. But despite our efforts there will be explosions from B.C. because B.C., as regards the NDY, is an explosive situation.

Yet the beauracracy and inefficiency in Ottawa must be fought, and we in B.C. have both the strong organization and the mass determination to do so, as long as such action is not foolhardy and adventuristic.

#### THE LEFT CAUCUS:

Some idea of the importance and the power of the left wing caucus may be gathered from what has been mentioned before.

This organization, in effect the greatest decision-maker in B.C. NDY, was instituted carefully and consciously by ourselves. It meets on every occasion of importance, and has grown in membership from about a dozen to 30 or so. The YSA, of course, meets before the caucus and decides our policy..which usually turns out to be caucus-policy as we are in reality the leadership there.

Decisions on action made at the caucus are fairly well carried out, and the co-operation gets better all the time. The atmosphere is congenial, informal, and the thoroughness of the debate as we see it is admirable. This is one of the YSA's most successful manoevers, and will become more and more useful as time passes and as the caucus improves.

#### THE PRESS:

Last report on Viewpoint is that it will not be published for some time as there are no more funds. This is straight from the horses mouth..Piket himself told us this. This is not an entirely desirable situation, of course, but

now is our opportunity, and we have already seized it, to show that the costly publication pays off neither financially or politically.

Of course there has been the famous Picket-B.C. fight over Viewpoint. In this case, although perhaps more tact could have been applied, I think that the BC record is clear. Picket has written childish insulting letters to us, has ignored our politeness requests. Some action had to be taken, and we believe that the action was the correct one...the action of a provincial section using its rights to curb Federal action.

Naturally, many attempts were made to work with Viewpoint, all to no avail before action was taken.

### The Young Socialist.

To be used, at this stage, to be spread among the contacts who are closest to us. The NDP executive here can move against sales.

### YOUNG SOCIALIST FORUM:

We see the Young Socialist Forum, a journal of socialist opinion which was instituted by ourselves, which is mainly responsible to us, as a paper having a double role.

1. It has been used to hold the left in B.C. inside the NDY organization, and to build the revolutionary organization, the YSA.

2. This accomplished, the YSF must become a weapon in building the youth movement generally.

.....

On the first role of the YSF, we feel that we have been highly successful. First of all, the YSF has been the biggest safety valve in BC. Here you see the seething discontent rise to the surface in debate and expression of opinion, not in dissection of the mass party. Many times we have said.. "No Joe, don't quit.. write it out in the YSF." This is no exaggeration, not a humorous remark. But for the YSF many of the best elements in the NDY would have staged a mass exodus.

Also, we must note that if the YSA has doubled its membership, it has been through work on the YSF. We have, then, made some very great gains.

On the second matter, of course we have not been so brilliant. YSF is not a pure or experienced publication, and there have been many mistakes made. But we look to some very revolutionary changes.

First of all, of course a very great effort must be made for our comrades to contribute more and for a more healthy attitude to be achieved towards the NDY. This is being done now, in the election issue in production at the moment.

Secondly, there is a possibility, a very real and new one, of the YSF, in a more popular and agitational form, becoming the official organ of the B.C. NDY. This suggestion came from the youth executive itself, and we will likely implement it next month.

The plan is that we will retain the material and the equipment and the editorial staff of the paper under the publishing association, but the youth executive will have the option of checking the copy which pertains to their activity. We see this proposed move as a challenge and an opportunity which will do nothing but good for us.

BB

44

This sketch of the Vancouver local of the YSA will, we hope, help to give the Canadian section a clearer perspective of what the opportunities and fields of work are on the West Coast. The situation in Vancouver is a unique one, one which demands a lot of understanding, study, and patience. We look forward to any advice the other locals might have.

# youth discussion bulletin

## CONTENTS

- (A) DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION (NEC) (8pp)
- (B) REVISED DRAFT CONSTITUTION (NEC) (3pp)
- (C) OUR CAMPUS WORK (NEC) (3pp)

may  
1965



## **DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION (NEC)**

(adopted by the founding convention of the **Young Socialists**, July 1966)

Youth Discussion Bulletin Vol. 1 No. 2 – May 1965

### **Introduction:**

The past five years, dating from the formation of the New Democratic Party and the New Democratic Youth, have seen growth of the Trotskyist youth movement to the point where we have been able to establish the skeleton of a youth movement of national scope. Not only have we achieved a qualitative growth numerically, although we are still very small, but more importantly in this period we have succeeded in recruiting and developing a substantial cadre to meet the increased tasks and opportunities that lie before us.

The atmosphere of political conservatism and apathy that prevails in English Canada is not only the product of the objective conditions, i.e., principally the general, if uneven, "prosperity" of the economy, but is also largely the product of the stultifying, bureaucratic misleadership of the NDP and the trade union movement. Characteristic of reformist bureaucracies, they fail to meet the real and considerable opportunities that presently exist.

The objective conditions for the radicalization of layers of Canadian youth have increased, not diminished. Added to the contradictions common to advanced capitalist economies is the inherent instability of an economy heavily dependent on export trade and maintenance of its balance of payments. Cutting across a general picture of a somewhat shallow prosperity are spectacular "pockets" of severe unemployment and poverty, mainly on a regional basis, e.g., coal mining in the Maritimes, agriculture in Ontario and Quebec, and the declining textile industry. This continuing crisis is greatly sharpened when it confronts the youth. The onslaught of technological unemployment caused by automation, which is increasing constantly, affects youth more than any other section of the working force, potential or actual. Already, and in fact for the whole past period, the proportion of unemployment among youth has been rapidly increasing compared to that of the working population as a whole. All evidence points to the conclusion that this trend will continue and be further accentuated in the coming years. For the youth who by reason of their economic circumstances and a hopelessly inadequate educational system have at maximum the prospect of semi-skilled occupations, there are almost no openings in basic industry. Even where openings exist, they are victimized by the rule of "last hired, first fired". Adding to this is the indifference and even hostility of the union bureaucracy. In subsidiary and marginal industry the situation is aggravated by lack of unionization and subsequently lower wages and worse working conditions. Due to the overall deterioration of the economy on a long-range basis and the rapidity of technological change, even university students with the highest academic and scientific qualifications can by no means be certain of stable and satisfactory employment.

The crudely class character of the educational system and its increasing inability to in any way prepare the student for life in this society, even strictly within the framework of making a subsistence living, will have an increasing impact on working class youth. If the enormous inequalities that exist in terms of class, region, religion and national origin, and the disparity

between urban and rural areas were not enough, the price tag on university education is constantly increasing. Alienation of students in the educational system will tend to increase with the continuing trend of high schools and university campuses toward becoming nothing more than vast, impersonal diploma factories, compounded with the authoritarianism of the administrations.

In this context, the continuing stalemate of the bourgeois parties, the nationalist ferment in Quebec, the ever more open corruption and cynicism of a decadent society, and the constant discrimination and abuse suffered by the youth even in "prosperous" times will continue to have more and more weight in the thinking of the Youth. "It is realistic to project that larger elements of the youth will become (and are already in the process of becoming) more open to socialist ideas. This radicalization will be the consequence not only of the internal economic and political contradictions, but of the threat of nuclear extinction, the aggravated crisis of capitalism in the imperialist countries, and the dynamism and increasing scope of the colonial revolution, most importantly the establishment of a workers state a mere ninety miles from the shores of the heartland of imperialism.

It is dubious that anyone can hope to accurately predict the initial scope of this radicalizing process or its pace of development. From the immediate past it might be thought that this process will be slow and sporadic. We should nevertheless be prepared for the possibility of rapid changes, particularly with the situation in Quebec and the continued discrediting of the capitalist parties, a situation which might well produce a new upsurge of support for the NDP, despite its enormous deficiencies in leadership and program.

### **The Orientation to the New Democratic Youth.**

The main direction of our work remains in the New Democratic Youth. Our orientation to the NDY was and is a logical corollary to the orientation of the revolutionary socialist movement as a whole to the building of the New Democratic Party and the advancement of our program in it. The NDP represents a fundamental break with capitalist politics. While the old CCF represented a major step in the direction of independent labour political action, the addition of major sectors of the trade unions to it, to form the NDP provided the concrete forces for a class party, a labor party. As such, the NDP is the force embodying the most advanced layers of the Canadian working class. Its formation marked a qualitative step forward for the labor movement.

The objective conditions that brought about the formation of the NDP, and gave it enormous potential, still obtain. The reason for the party's profound stagnation lies not in changed political and economic conditions, but in the conservative, respectability-seeking misleadership of the party and trade union bureaucracies. Despite all its deficiencies in program and leadership, it is still the force toward which the workers will look first when there is motion in the class.

It represents powerful forces in society. Despite its present stagnation it retains a stable electoral base of a million votes, primarily in the industrial, working-class areas, a marked shift from the strongly agrarian base of the CCF. The continued disillusionment of large sectors of the electorate with the capitalist parties was once again demonstrated in recent by-elections. But the sentiment for change on the part of a large section of the working class has drifted from support of one major bourgeois party to its twin in successive federal elections because the NDP with its present program

cannot present itself as a viable alternative. As a result of electoral defeats, the increasing bureaucratization of the party, and the repression and witch-hunt against the left, particularly our comrades, the party's membership has declined. But the objective conditions give it as great a potential as it had at its founding.

The course of developments in the NDY has necessarily been heavily influenced by that of the party. Just as we had greater immediate expectations of the NDP at its founding, so we had greater expectations of the success of the NDY acting as a polarizing force for radically-inclined youth and youth open to radical ideas. We have always set ourselves the objective of integration in the NDY, building the movement, while, simultaneously advancing the socialist program and recruiting to our organization. In the period prior to the expulsions we experienced considerable success, despite the factionalism and witch-hunting hysteria of the right wing which slowed down the initial spurt of growth of the NDY and finally reversed it.

When the expulsions occurred, in B.C. through the youth and in Ontario through the party, we experienced the loss of almost our entire cadre from entry work in the NDY. The NDY, increasingly weaker and more isolated, now declined precipitously in B.C. and in Ontario almost disappeared.

Despite all negative features, the expulsions were a valuable experience in terms of the development and hardening of our own cadre. To withstand the pressures of the witch-hunt, to conduct an effective struggle against them, and to retain perspective in this period required a high level of political understanding and development. Very few comrades who stuck with the movement through that period, even though some demoralization of a temporary nature took place, have failed to remain in the movement right up to the present. It was a major test for our movement and overall we came out of it very well.

Any of us who may have had thoughts that the NDY would remain in its quiescent state for a protracted length of time underestimated the viability of the *NDY* in the short range, a viability provided both by the objective conditions and the real social roots of the NDP. Less than a year after the expulsions we had rebuilt our forces to their previous level. Today we have, totally, a much larger number of comrades in the NDY than prior to the expulsions, and, particularly in Ontario we have, with the development of the open provincial left caucus, far wider connections. Despite the heavy hand of the party bureaucracy, which would rather not have a youth movement than one which is appreciably to the left of it, and flying in the face of the lessened attractiveness of the youth caused by the stagnation and increasing drift to the right of the party, the NDY is beginning to grow again, and our opportunities in it are increased, as recent developments in Ontario, B.C. and Saskatchewan indicate.

It must be kept in mind, of course, that the NDY is still a very small and isolated movement and we must be prepared for considerable ebb and flow in its development. We must be prepared, for example, for more expulsions in the future, and the not too distant future at that. But for the immediate future prospects are good.

The importance of our main orientation cannot be underrated. Empirical results alone prove its basic validity. A large number of our comrades have been recruited from the NDY itself, and an almost equally large number have been recruited **as a result** of the orientation, which gives a broad

perspective of the potential of the labor movement that our numerically weak forces alone would find extremely difficult to provide, except on a somewhat abstract theoretical plane. Predicated on the above, the independent forms of work in which we are engaged since the expulsions cannot be projected as a substitute for the mass labor youth movement that must be built, but as complementary to this work.

### **The Development of Independent Work.**

The expulsions from the NDP-NDY confronted our movement with a major problem. Continued work by the expelled cadre in and around the NDY became to all intents and purposes impossible. Not only had they lost all formal rights to participate in the movement, but the atmosphere of hostility generated by the right wing was so intense that in Ontario, for example, we were even barred from meetings normally open to the public. This factor, combined with the further weakening and isolation of the *NDY*, placed us in the position of having to project new avenues both for application of the main orientation outside the entry context, and for attempting to reach out to youth who were somewhat critical of society, who had some awareness of its problems, and who were looking for ideas, youth who, particularly in the immediate post-expulsion period, but to a large extent even in general, would not find their way into the *NDY* due to the conservatism and stagnation of both it and the NDP.

The necessity to develop independent, public expression, while arising from the expulsions presented not simply a problem, but an opportunity. It is normally desirable for the revolutionary socialist youth to have a public voice and identification. It gives us the latitude to make broader connections, particularly since it permits us to present our views without circumspection. While in the period before the expulsions the necessity for the Trotskyist movement as such to have a public identification was satisfied by the public existence of the LSA and *The Vanguard*, the lack of a public expression for the youth was undoubtedly in some respects a handicap.

Nevertheless, we were very careful not to move prematurely into directly open forms of independent work. We wanted to exhaust every avenue of struggle against the expulsions, and to exhaust every avenue of appeal, to make the record of our support for the NDP-NDY, our wish to remain in this movement, crystal clear, unquestionable. Additionally we wanted to explore every possibility of mobilizing support for the expelled, exposing the nature of the right wing, and utilizing the issue of the expulsions to politically influence the membership of the NDY to the maximum degree.

In the interim period, therefore, any independent forms of work we engaged in were of a disguised character, for example, the YCND experience in Toronto, the anti-expulsion committees, etc. Essentially, for this period we declined for the above reasons to present ourselves in any fashion as a distinct political tendency in a public sense. But these various disguised forms of independent work proved in the long run not to be viable, to be capable of attracting new youth, new contacts, in any significant numbers.

After we had in fact exhausted the avenues of appeal of the expulsions, had made the record clear in every possible way, and there was clearly no chance for re-instatement or re-admittance of the expelled to the NDP-NDY for an indefinite period, then we had to

start thinking in terms of a long-range open vehicle for work outside the entrust framework with our expelled cadre. This vehicle had to meet four basic conditions: 1) that it enabled us to carry on the orientation to the NDY, by the expelled, on a propagandists level; 2) that it enabled us to present ourselves as a distinct youth political tendency; 3) that through it we could appeal to youth becoming newly-politicized to one degree or another who were outside the NDY; and 4) that it had to be of a national character.

The only vehicle that met these conditions was a national publication of the expelled. For the precise reasons why we launched and presented the paper in the fashion that we did, we refer comrades to the document, 'For a National Publication.'

An alternative that was conceivably open to us was the formation of a public membership organization that openly sought recruits for itself, that engaged in all forms of political activity that are normal to a youth movement. This, however, would have been in complete contradiction to the line we carried in the struggle against the expulsions. It would not only have hopelessly compromised the orientation to the NDY on the part of our expelled forces in an immediate sense, but for a whole period.. In addition, it would have endangered the work of comrades entered in the NDY, many of them relatively new recruits.

The paper as it now stands gives us a very flexible framework of independent, non-entrust operations. It allows us to carry the orientation effectively in a public way, and it gives us the latitude to appeal to youth outside the NDY on the basis of both specific youth issues and broad socialist propaganda. It allows us to present ourselves as a political tendency without appearing openly as a hard, disciplined organization. And without a public organizational framework it gives us great flexibility in terms of educational and propagandist work of a public character, e.g., meetings, classes, socials, publication of pamphlets under the sponsorship of the paper, etc. Additionally, association with Young Socialist Forum, which presents itself only as a paper, does not give the right wing in the NDY the pretext for expulsion that an open organization would provide them.

Since independent work is basically, although not entirely, complementary to the NDY orientation, its general character should be defined as educational and propagandistic. We must guard ourselves against attempting to substitute for the NDY. Demonstrations and actions of a similar character should be channeled through the NDY wherever possible, or through an association of left organizations, preferably on a united front basis. We do not, however, wish to establish a rigid formula in regard to this; there can be exceptions.

The relative emphasis on NDY work versus independent work and vice-versa will necessarily fluctuate with the circumstances. Were a whole new set of expulsions to take place, then the emphasis would change quite sharply in the direction of open work, simply from the point of view of the forces involved. On the other hand, a qualitative growth of the NDY would necessitate increased emphasis in that direction. Within the framework that we see the NDY as our main orientation on a long-range basis, the above is the closest we can come to a "formula" of the

relationship between these two main facets of our work. To attempt to refine it any further would simply lead to rigid formulations which would be of little practical value.

In general the perspectives in this period for open work are improving, as outlined in the introductory section of this document. The further development of Young Socialists (YS) as a national organization and establishment of open headquarters which give us much greater flexibility for increased, consistent public *Young Socialist Forum* functions facilitate our progress in this area.

### **Campus:**

If social pressures are increasing in this period on the youth, this is particularly true in the case of university students. The economic situation as a whole for this sector of the youth has become poorer in recent years, even if tuition fees and living costs had remained static. However, they have continued to spiral upwards. Again, the alienation of the student in campus life is being reinforced by the evermore factory-like character of the "degree mill" campuses and the dictatorial powers of the administrators.

These pressures, along with others previously stated, give impetus to the search for radical solutions on the part of students. They have also had the tendency recently, with developments in Quebec as an example, to create interest among certain layers of students in actions aimed at remedying their most immediate problems, e.g., the formation of student unions.

Our main campus task, however, is the promotion of revolutionary Marxism and the recruitment of students to our program and organization. While there is considerable value in participating in student developments that evoke a significant response, the main criterion by which we judge the value of high-level participation gives us increased propaganda and contact opportunities, whether it raises the political consciousness of the students. If it does not, we cannot afford, with our small forces, to dissipate our energies. Primarily because the student has no real roots in society, no really defined class position in relation to the means of production, the political situation on campus, as it affects the revolutionary youth movement, deals heavily in terms of ideas on the theoretical plane. The main focus of our work, consequently, is basic socialist propaganda. Generally, all other considerations are subordinate to this.

We are therefore concerned with organizational influence on campus only with reference to the above. To pursue the acquisition of such influence without this criterion in mind is to pursue a course resulting in the dissipation of our energies with little to show in concrete gains.

It is important that we recognize that while campus work is not our main field of work, the perspectives in this area have changed considerably for the better in the last year or so. The student Cuba committees are a good example of this. While propaganda work on behalf of the Cuban revolution has always been one of our most fruitful efforts, it has all the more fulfilled this role following the recent student work tour.

In this context, we would consider campus work to be of considerably greater priority than in the past. Where possible, we should encourage comrades on campus to continue there and encourage comrades who have possibilities of getting on campus to do so. Additionally we should

investigate the possibility of utilizing off-campus comrades for campus work where the on-campus forces are inadequate.

Because of the fact that we regard broad socialist propaganda as our main campus direction, and that the campus NDP clubs do not generally provide us with sufficient opportunities in this area, it must be recognized that the NDY orientation assumes secondary importance here, partly due to the nature of these clubs, as outlined in the campus document. We would of course be concerned with much fuller participation in a club where we felt our ideas would be taken seriously by a significant proportion of its membership, or where there were possibilities of taking the leadership of the club on a programmatic basis.

Generally, however, we can best function effectively through open forms, preferably Socialist clubs, or where there is a necessity to protect comrades' memberships in the NDP-NDY, through such organizations as Cuba committees that give us substantially the same opportunities for propaganda and contact work, although in a less direct form.

### **High school:**

Work in the high schools is a *very* important area both in terms of the NDY orientation and of open work such as *YSF* sales and public functions. While this work is frequently very sporadic, and recruitment of high schoolers presents special problems, especially in view of their totally dependent position and the "parent problem", our experience over the part year has demonstrated that we have good grounds for expecting prospects to become increasingly positive. We have finally made a good beginning in terms of recruitment.

High school work has many differences compared to work on campus. Here the issues of student rights and problems are posed more sharply and clearly than on campus since, in the vast majority of cases, the students have no recognized rights at all, and are entirely subject to the arbitrary dictates of school boards, principals and teachers. Even where consultation takes place, it is a fraudulent relationship since the administration has the power (and uses it) to ignore the students completely. This exists in addition to the other pressures brought to bear on the high school student, not to mention again his or her totally dependent economic position.

This makes the high school potentially fertile ground for struggles in the context of the student environment. We have seen this in the campaign against compulsory cadet training, the fight to establish disarmament clubs in the schools, in the Vancouver bus fare protest, and more importantly as far as we are concerned, in the, as yet, fledgling struggle to organize NDY clubs in the schools.

There are considerable opportunities for us in the present situation. First, there is little serious competition of an organized type from opponent political tendencies, and those students whom we might hope to attract do not have to try and find their way through the swamp of liberalism, pacifism, reformism and various forms of sophisticated pseudo-radicalism that would confront them in most universities.

As well, our overall experience would indicate that only the political elements in the high schools are capable of leading a consistent fight even on the most elementary plane. Where such struggles take place, the politicals most often involved are NDYers, more likely than not under our direction

or influence. As well, high school students will respond positively to outside help and leadership where due sensitivity is shown.

The above raises possibilities of creating the nucleus for a high school NDY club out of a struggle over elementary student rights even where no political issue is directly involved. We are obviously concerned with participating in, and attempting to give leadership to, struggles of this type, for if properly conducted they can raise the level of consciousness of a large sector of students in a specific situation.

One of the most important tasks in the high schools is the construction of NDY clubs within the schools themselves. Because of the universal opposition of the educational bureaucrats to this, and drawing from even our limited experience to date, we can project the concrete possibility of drawing into the struggle large numbers of students who at this stage are not interested in the NDY itself. Thus the struggle performs a dual function. It not only aids the task of building the NDY but also draws a broader layer of students into a struggle for an elementary right that all students should have, and pits them against the school authorities.

In terms of independent forms of work the high school situation is promising as well. Response to sales efforts of *YSF* has been good, although for reasons of time and personnel there is difficulty in establishing continuity. Up until now we have not been able to consolidate a great deal out of these sales, in all probability because we have not been able to follow up consistently with regular *YSF* public functions. With *YSF* establishing public headquarters in the two major centers we are now able to move in this direction and should do so as rapidly as possible. Only by doing this will we obtain any concrete basis for evaluating the impact of the sales program and the paper itself.

### **Opponent Political Tendencies: *NDY* right wing:**

The main political opponent of the left that confronts us is the right wing of the New Democratic Youth. Ideologically it is very weak and in most cases extremely ignorant of even the most basic left wing ideas. In attempting to counter our forces it relies heavily on overt and covert red-baiting, gossip, personal slander and organizational measures and trickery. In this of course it has the active support of the party bureaucracy.

It is necessary, however, to make a distinction between those who are in the leadership of this right wing and those who could be considered its rank and file. While generally the former are either dilettantes or careerists, the latter are in the right wing not because of self-seeking or political conviction, but out of ignorance, pressure to conform, fear of being red-baited. Often they are relatively non- or a-political youth who are simply used by the right wing for organizational gerrymandering, e.g., stacking conventions. In a period of intense factionalism and repression against the left, many have a tendency to become disillusioned and walk away from politics. Others, importantly, begin to see through the right wing and we are able to influence them, in some cases recruit them after a process of development. Therefore, to view the right wing as a solid mass of reaction (in the NDY context!) is both un-dialectical and self-defeating. All political tendencies of this type contain contradictions and it is essential to recognize and take advantage of them. And, it should be added, for many youth joining the NDY it is a qualitative step forward, despite what is to revolutionaries a quite low level of understanding and commitment.



### **NDY "centrists":**

Another element in the NDY, which, in a qualified way can be termed an opponent tendency, is the "centrists." We do not use the term in its classical sense here. We use it to describe those who tend to vacillate between the left and the right, who try the old balancing act - remaining "independent" of either wing, who are undecided or hesitant to commit themselves, even when their basic inclination is to support the organized left in the NDY, i.e., open left caucuses. Even in cases where their ideas are fairly consistently to the left, they lack either the concept or the experience of principled politics. This is the reason why, at this stage of their development, they cannot be relied on as allies. When the heat is on from the right they tend to become either very inconspicuous or even go along with the right. Alternatively, seeing the problem, not as one of a principled struggle, but a question of wheeling and dealing, maneuvering, making deals, etc., they seek to have the left wing "moderate" its stand, ostensibly in order to help it. From this point of view this tendency can sometimes be very dangerous. They want, in many cases, to be considered radicals without paying the price for it. Despite this, they can, if we have a proper understanding of them, be valuable as allies from time to time, and, of course, they are at least partly along the way in terms of ideas and direction.

### **Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA)**

This campus organization, the renamed successor to the Combined Universities Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CUCND), while not a political grouping as such, has to be considered a political opponent because it is in fact an ideological tendency pacifist, neutralist, and non-violent in principle. Outside of the NDY right wing and the YCL it is the most conscious opponent of our ideas in the antiwar movement. In the campus context this conflict of ideology inevitably spills over into other areas as well. As well, SUPA has a tendency to attract organizationally uncommitted students moving toward radicalism and has considerable resources in respect of full-time staff.

### **Young Communist League;**

In terms of identified youth organizations as such, The Young Communist League is the main political opponent on the left of a national character. Its general political level - if indeed it can be said to have one - reflects the degeneracy of its parent organization, the CP, and makes it a far less serious factor than its numbers and organizational resources would superficially indicate. While it has some advantages over us in the latter two areas, the theoretical level of its membership -and publication -are so low as to be almost non-political. We come up against the YCL mainly in the peace groups, where its peaceful coexistence line and willingness to slavishly adapt to the "peace is above politics" pacifists result in combinations against our line. Past experience indicates that while generally there is little in or around the YCL worth our attention, it does attract some

youth seriously inclined to radical politics, partly because of the myth that the official "communists" are revolutionaries. Because of the fact that it does retain an attractiveness for such youth it is worth while keeping our eye on its contacts and periphery.

## **Conclusion**

The contemporary revolutionary socialist youth movement in Canada has come a long way since its formation some five years ago. In general, our political opponents within the left have declined while we have grown and developed. While still very small, we have not only greatly increased numerically and established the framework of a national movement, but we have also trained a cadre and have increasingly become a more important factor in left-wing politics. And as this resolution outlines, both in terms of the general objective conditions and our specific areas of work, the future points very definitely to opportunities for growth and development at a more rapid pace. However, we must realize that while we have made a good beginning, it is only a beginning of the historic task that confronts the Trotskyist movement in this country. But with a realization of what has been achieved to date, we are confident in our ability to press forward. Venceremos!

REVISED DRAFT CONSTITUTION

Article 1 Name: The name of this organization shall be Young Socialists (YS).

Article 2 Purpose: The YS is a revolutionary socialist youth organization *in English Canada.*  
Its purpose is to educate youth in the program of revolutionary Marxism and enlist the youth of our society in the struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading to the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of the basis for socialism - a workers' state.

Article 3 Relationship to ISA: The League for Socialist Action and the YS are autonomous parts of a common movement. The YS declares its adherence to the objectives and program of the ISA but within that framework is completely autonomous as an organization. The YS adheres to the statement of relationship between the youth and the League adopted by the 1963 ISA Convention.

Article 4 Membership:

- (a) Membership shall be open to anyone who agrees to abide by the program and discipline of the YS and who shall contribute loyal and active participation in the movement to the best of his ability.
- (b) Application for membership shall be decided by the local in the applicant's area. In the event that no local exists in the area the applicant shall apply to the National Executive Committee and may be admitted as a member-at-large.
- (c) Each member shall pay a sum to be determined by the NC as monthly dues to the National Office, but locals have the option of adding local dues. In the event of three months consecutive non-payment of dues a member may be notified that he may be dropped from membership. Failing immediate rectification on the part of the member involved he shall cease to be in good standing and shall automatically forfeit his vote and eligibility for any elected position or delegateship.
- (d) YS members operate ~~as~~ *be bound by* a disciplined body in all activities. They ~~may~~ *be bound by* the decisions of the leading bodies and use them as a guide for their actions.

Article 5 National Conventions:

- (a) The national convention is the highest body of the YS and shall meet at least once every two years.
- (b) Emergency conventions may be called by the National Committee or by demand of 1/3 of the locals. Normally, 90 days' notice will be given.
- (c) The NEC shall regulate the pre-convention discussion. All members and bodies have the right to submit documents for internal circulation and discussion.

Article 5 cont'd

(d) ~~The~~ election of delegates and alternates to conventions shall be conducted in local units. A member must be in good standing at the time of the conventions call to be eligible for election.

(e) The ratio of delegates to membership at conventions shall be determined by the National Committee, as shall be the basis for representation of minorities.

(f) In cases where a significant political division exists the election of delegates shall be proportional. A political division exists only when a written document is presented and voted upon.

(g) NC members (or alternates) who are not elected as convention delegates shall have voice but no vote.

Article 6 National Committee:

(a) The NC shall be the highest authority between conventions. It shall have jurisdiction over all YS bodies and publications.

(b) The size and ratio of the NC ~~shall~~ shall be decided by the convention. In the election of the NC all significant minorities generally shall have representation.

(c) The NC shall have the authority to co-opt. It shall also have the authority to co-opt onto the NEC. *In the case of such co-opting it shall be of such character that it*

(d) The NC shall meet at least three times between conventions, including before and after, or at the demand of one-half of the NC members.

Article 7 National Executive Committee:

(a) The National Executive Committee shall consist of NC members resident in the center at the time of their election, and shall act on behalf of the NC between NC meetings. It shall be accorded full authority of the NC except that all its decisions shall be subject to review by the NC as a whole. On demand of not less than one-third of the NC members, any NEC decision shall be subject to a poll of the entire NC. The NEC shall be responsible for supervision of the national office, its staff, all national publications and for the application of convention decisions between conventions.

(b) In general, all significant minorities shall be represented on the NEC.

Article 8. National Officers:

(a) All national officers shall be responsible directly to the NEC and shall be elected from and by the NC. The NC shall elect a Secretary and any other national officers it deems necessary.

Article 8 cont'd

- (b) The national secretary shall be responsible for the administration of the national office.

Article 9 Organization:

- (a) Upon application to the NEC, three members in an area may be granted the status of a local.
- (b) A local shall function in a regular manner. It shall elect officers and working committees to carry out the responsibilities of the movement.
- (c) All decisions of the YS shall be made by majority vote.
- (d) Roberts Rules of Order shall govern procedure except where it conflicts with this constitution.
- (e) Local by-laws shall not conflict with this constitution.
- (f) In all matters, the principles of democratic centralism shall rule.

Article 10 Discipline:

- (a) Any member or body may lay charges against a member who violates the ~~constitution~~ constitution, or discipline of the YS.
- (b) A member may be disciplined by censure, internal or public, suspension, or expulsion.
- (c) Every member has the right to appeal disciplinary action to higher bodies, including the convention. The accused shall have 30 days to announce intent of appeal of the decision ~~by the convention~~.
- (d) Pending <sup>the outcome of any</sup> ~~any~~ appeal, disciplinary action shall remain in full force and effect.

Article 11 Amendments:

- (a) This constitution can only be amended by a convention, ~~or, in emergency, by referendum vote of the membership.~~



## OUR CAMPUS WORK

Our campus work in the past year has brought us many valuable experiences and modest gains. In the University of Toronto our caucus is experienced and well organized, and works through a Socialist Club which held several very successful meetings. But its most fruitful work has been in the Student Committee On Cuban Affairs (SCCA). A couple of the best contacts have also been drawn into the off-campus NDP left-caucus. But this very wide circle of contacts has produced only one recruit.

In Vancouver our caucus is less well organized, and has made no major inroads this year. Its main area of work has been the SCCA, where we have met our best contacts. The Socialist Club was able to hold its first meeting only at the end of the year. We participated in the (BGSF) a backward student action movement, without attempting to play a leading role.

While in Toronto and Vancouver NDP work offered few opportunities, it has been the focus for the impressive growth of our forces on Ontario universities outside Toronto. Here, where radical politics is less bureaucratized, we have been able to play a major role in the NDP clubs, to build left caucuses within them, and to recruit out of them. In such situations, where there is no expelled comrade, Cuba committees have afforded a valuable means of open work. We also tried in one case, without success, to form a viable united front for student council elections.

We have recruited six comrades in campus work this year (as of Mar. 1) and have lost one. Largely out of this work we have set up a new local, and we have good possibilities of setting up two more campus-based locals in the near future. Next year we can count on at least 16 comrades on 9 campuses. While campus work has not been too successful in the two main centres, it has been our main vehicle for national expansion. It promises to be of increased importance in the coming year.

On the whole, universities present a hostile class atmosphere, where radical tendencies are contained within bureaucratized ivory-tower left-wing organizations and in sterile academic debates. It is extremely difficult to develop this vague liberalism and pacifism we find on the campus left into a revolutionary understanding of society and commitment to the working class. Yet students have an important role to play in the construction of the proletarian vanguard. A significant minority are not absorbed and integrated into the academic and bourgeois world, and can be won over to the revolutionary movement.

The general development of Canadian universities is likely to cause this minority to grow in coming years. The bourgeois university is in decline, for it is losing its ability to win the most talented young people over to the service of the ruling class. The university is degenerating from an ivory tower to a degree factory. Automation, combined with the increasing regimentation of university-trained labour, cloud the future of the student. A growing proportion will be only repelled and radicalized by the university experience.

Our aim is to win university students out of the campus environment to the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. This can be done only by winning a full program of revolutionary socialism. While student demands and "youth issues" are valuable in radicalizing students, only persistent socialist propaganda on "adult" issues can win them over to us. Our main orientation on campus must be to propaganda, not to mass work. We must emphasize the role of effective contact work, and we should attempt to pull contacts off campus to League and YSF functions. When recruited, university comrades should be integrated into the work of the local, while for campus work they should operate as a well organized fraction. # them to the

The student population has its own internal divisions, and students often look at NDP and SUPA, etc., as part of a campus establishment. Our aim is not to integrate ourselves in the student aristocracy, but to make a direct appeal to the rank and file students. We are not looking for organizational influence but for propagandistic opportunities. And since the university atmosphere creates an arena of conflict of political ideas, we can appear most effectively as an independent political tendency, as the distinctively revolutionary tendency.

For all these reasons, our orientation on every campus should contain some form of open work. Whatever form it takes, this open work should fulfill the following three functions. We must sharply distinguish ourselves from all other political tendencies, find a platform for our own ideas, and make a direct appeal to the students to come and discuss them. The ideal form for this is a Socialist Club. In the (U of Toronto and UBC), the Socialist Clubs, styling themselves "marxist", are in fact pure campus editions of Young Socialist Forum. In universities where there is not an established left, as in (York and Waterloo), they have expanded somewhat to fill the vacuum on the left, carrying a broader range of meetings and not directly identifying themselves with Young Socialist Forum - while still generally fulfilling the three functions given above. (The desirability of having open comrades on campus should not, of course, take priority over the security of comrades in the NDY.)

The (Waterloo the Socialist Club) from the beginning included close contacts. In (Toronto), on the other hand, it was decided not to expand the Socialist Club because the contacts in question already had organizational links with us through the left caucus or through the SCCA. Whether such an expansion is advisable is a tactical question. The crucial criterion must be the question: will recruitment to a Socialist Club be a bridge or a barrier to recruitment to our movement? Collaboration with close contacts in the Socialist Club can establish confidence and an identification with us; on the other hand it can inhibit the contact from taking the leap to an off-campus working-class organization.

Campus NDP clubs are often highly bureaucratized and undemocratic; often they have no real ties to the party or the youth; often they are buried in futile campus politicking. Our approach to these clubs must be pragmatic: it must be based on our judgement of the degree to which we can present our ideas and make new contacts in the clubs. When possible, we should form a strong left opposition within these clubs. (The Socialist Clubs should of course stress their support of the N.D.P.)

We should not accept the obligation on campus, as we do in the off-campus NDY clubs, to plunge wholeheartedly into organizational work for the NDP and to accept major organizational responsibilities. But where there is an opportunity to form the leadership of an NDP club, on the basis of a socialist program and policy, and to build the club on this basis, we should seize it. We should also look for opportunities to link work in NDP clubs with off-campus NDY work, and encourage NDP clubs to affiliate with the NDY.

Nowhere has SUPA proven a worthwhile area for campus work. Organizational responsibilities in SUPA, SNCC, SCM, etc. do not generally seem to be of value. But CABS-type united fronts can be very valuable, when they offer us the possibility of working together with and getting to know rank-and-filers of other organizations.

Cuba work has been the most rewarding area of campus activity in the two main centres, for many reasons. Of all radical meetings, those on Cuba consistently have the broadest appeal to students. Cuba work always involves the discussion of our own ideas in a very favourable setting. Cuba committees can unite the most serious radicals of all tendencies, and bring them into a close working relationship with us. While



the Socialist Club gives us political identity and political stature on campus, the SCCA's are our most reliable source of new contacts. Where for security reasons the Socialist Clubs cannot be formed, Cuba committees provide a valuable means to present our ideas openly to the student body. The formation and extension of the SCCA's should be a top priority of campus work in the coming period.

The incipient proletarianization of the student body is producing a tendency to student action and organization along trade union lines. This movement of "student syndicalism" involves a growth of social consciousness among the students both on university and social issues. It combines the creation of a responsible student leadership, the winning of student government, and mass action for university reform and on social questions. In English Canada, "student syndicalism" seems likely to remain at

the talking stage for some time, and incipient movements have to date been largely frustrated by incompetent student leadership. We should sceptically judge the value of battles on the "student syndicalist" front in terms of the benefit to our own organization. We cannot substitute ourselves for the student leadership. We can, however, advocate support to tendencies towards "student syndicalism" and present our ideas on the subject. It may be of value to participate in the formation of united left fronts for student council elections, or to run our own socialist candidates. And when genuine student movements arise, we should definitely give them our full support and participation.

On the whole, we have found working out an effective orientation to the universities to be a long and difficult task, and it is clear that we still have a great deal to learn. But in the past year our campus work has brought some tangible rewards. In the next years we can expect the university work to play a leading role in our development as a national movement. Kgu



## ***POLITICAL RESOLUTION***

*as adopted by the founding convention of the Young Socialists, July 1965*

***Pages 1 to 8 are repeats of the 1965 Political Resolution, except the section on Page 8 on: Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA) is deleted and replaced on new Page 9 and 10 with further notes***

**Appendix** (see .p.8 )

### **Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA):**

SUPA is the best known and most broadly influential of the radical youth organizations in Canada. Its primitive theoretical understanding, its emotional appeal against the cold war, its repudiation of the "old left", its claim to completely reject the values of capitalism — all of these are strong points of attraction to campus radicals. At the same time, it is well financed and has a strong apparatus of full time workers. It reaps the benefits (free headquarters, good publicity and lots of cash) of being on good terms with the Canadian establishment. In fact, SUPA's conservatism in action reveals in part the extent to which it is now entirely dependent on the direct and indirect support of various aspects of the state apparatus. SUPA has a strong influence in most areas on other student leaderships (e.g. NDP right wing, the SCM, student councils). This strength is shown in SUPA's ability, in many areas, to mobilize large numbers of radical students into its actions and half a hundred of the most dedicated student radicals into its full time summer projects.

But SUPA is a hollow organization. It promises to be no more than a passing phase in the evolution of the student movement. It has developed no social theory worthy of the name. Its cadre is really very weak; far weaker numerically and otherwise than our own. Its organizational base of active members is also very thin. Its strength varies widely from campus to campus and it is not even present on a great number of Canadian university campuses. Its prestige and influence derive from the passing moods of the campus. Its theoretical poverty and thin membership base better reveal its true strength.

One thing is clear. SUPA is now an ideological tendency. While SUPA lacks a social theory, a method of analysis, it certainly possesses a distinctive ideology centered on a purely idealistic interpretation of the world crisis, a conviction that a good (non-violent) society can be created by simply converting individuals to the nonviolent ethic, a resulting concentration on method rather than impact as the criterion for action, and a distinctive thread of elitism. The leaders of SUPA are by and large our conscious and bitter enemies, and on most occasions they have gone to extreme lengths to sabotage our efforts in the anti-war movement and to prevent us from gaining influence. (Though we should note that the SUPA leadership, while generally homogeneous, is not entirely monolithic and we sometimes find dissident bureaucrats willing to work with us.) The leadership is consciously opposed to united action and it prefers no action at all to action which might tend to escape from under its banner and its exclusive direction. Its attitude reflects the fact that the SUPA leadership is ideologically homogeneous, and that SUPA operates in fact as a non-democratic and non-membership organization, tightly controlled by a full-time bureaucracy.

### **Young Maoists**

The Maoists are unique as an opponent political tendency in that they present themselves as being a revolutionary grouping. Besides *YSF* (*our journal* Young Socialist Forum –*ed.*) and the Maoist youth, no

other tendency in Canada, including the Young Communist league, present themselves to youth as revolutionaries. We first met the Maoists in the BC NDY where they were the strongest force in the NDY left caucus. We looked upon the young Maoists as an important part of our work and devoted a great deal of time and effort to discussing with them and cooperating in joint activities. Because they presented themselves as honest revolutionaries, we operated with the perspective of eventually fusing with them or recruiting them to our movement. We continually emphasized the need for a consistent theory and demanded they make their political positions clear, especially with regard to the NDY.

The combination of our demand for seriousness and their impatience for the revolution caused them to abandon the NDY in favour of "mass revolutionary" work. Thus the Maoists developed from an influential rival in the NDY to an isolated, sectarian grouping that relies solely on continuous activity and still discounts the need for a theoretical base. They act on the assumption that the revolution is going to occur tomorrow, and that they can educate the masses by fighting with the cops and by getting everyone to hate the fascists. They have proven themselves politically untrustworthy and adventuristic, and we must be cautious in our dealings with them. The Maoists as a youth tendency failed to develop into anything more than a Vancouver based group and in no way can be considered a national youth tendency.

(end)

(copy) #70

## POLITICAL REPORT

# Youth Discussion Bulletin

## Contents:

- (A) Political Resolution (10 pp)  
(Adopted by the  
Founding Convention, 1965)
- B O Political Report (NEC) (5 pp)
- (C) O YSF Report (6 pp)
- (D) O Comments on YSF (Blein) 1 p.

Vol. 2 No. 1

April 1966

## POLITICAL REPORT

The Political Resolution adopted by our founding convention last year outlined how, in spite of the continuing relative prosperity and political conservatism, “the objective conditions for the radicalization of layers of Canadian youth have increased and that in the coming period “it is realistic to project that larger elements of the youth will become, and are already in the process of becoming, more open to socialist ideas.” The experience of the past year has in fact confirmed this forecast, and revealed an unevenly growing radicalism among youth, and in particular a rapid increase in interest in socialist ideas. It has also confirmed the general political orientation outlined in that document. This document is intended to supplement the Political Resolution in respect to three new factors in our work: the anti-war movement, the fight against expulsions in the NDY (*New Democratic Youth, youth wing of the NDP*), and the qualitative growth in our open work.

### THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

The greatest radicalizing force acting on youth today is the war in Vietnam. The continuing divisions among the bourgeois strategists over Vietnam policy have opened the door for a continuing and fundamental public questioning of the whole war. The dramatic rise of the U.S. anti-war movement has shown the possibility of effective protests against the war. For the first time in decades we have a mass audience of young people disillusioned with the anti-communist warriors, seriously concerned about the war and anxious to hear what the opponents of the war have to say.

In the document of the NEC on anti-war work adopted last fall we outlined how Vietnam was going to become more central to our work in every area, and we projected that the anti-war movement would become a major field of work. Since then the anti war movement has expanded even more swiftly than we anticipated. The March 26 protest clearly showed the potential for mass mobilizations against the war. In the UBC (*Vancouver*) Vietnam committee and in SAWV (*high schools*) we have built strong and broad anti-war committees which have attracted all kinds of young people never before involved in radical politics. And these two committees only begin to show the real potential of our work in this area right across the country.

For over a year we have been urging the NDY to move out and give leadership to the anti-war movement among young people. We must continue to do so. But the NDY cannot be the vehicle for mobilizing the anti-war movement among young people. First, because the NDP has not and is not prepared in the next period, anywhere in Canada, to mobilize and lead a real movement against the war. As the movement grows the majority of those entering it are new to radical politics and are not yet ready to adhere to the NDY-NDP: The NDY is somewhat compromised by the failure of the NDP, and in the key areas it is hobbled by its right-wing leadership. The vehicle for the

development of the anti-war movement must be independent committees, which can mobilize the energies of politically new and uncommitted youth. We must work to form independent membership committees to end the war on campus, in the high schools and (like the YCND) among young people in general. At the same time, we must continue to orient the NDY towards the anti-war movement. The NDY should work to build independent committees, to give them political leadership, and through its own activities and the work of its members, to recruit the anti-war activists in large numbers.

An exception must be noted here. In Saskatchewan and Alberta, (and similar cases might arise elsewhere) the NDY is led by and large by left wing elements and encompasses or at least has the confidence of all youth political tendencies, including the various wings of the "new left". Thus at this moment, as comrade Dumont writes, it is unlikely that an independent committee could mobilize any youth who are not perfectly willing to work through the NDY.

We should take note of this fact, and not organize independent committees prematurely, until there is some real perspective, actual or potential, of reaching outside those layers of youth where the NDY has hegemony. However, the ability of the NDY to act, here, as the vehicle for mobilizing youth against the war is likely to be only temporary. First, the same sort of polarization among youth tendencies that we see in other areas is likely to gradually take place in these provinces.

Second, to the degree that the anti-war movement grows, so that it is not just mobilizing existing radicals but begins to reach out into new layers and contact youth who have not yet any firm political allegiance, we will find that independent youth committees are necessary to bring these youth into active participation in the movement.

The UBC Committee to End the war and the high school SAWV are good examples or the possibilities of independent youth committees in mobilizing large numbers of the unaffiliated young people that have been so prominent in Vietnam demonstrations. And both committees are also good examples of how a single-issue committee can be a recruiting ground for the multi-issue NDY. A top priority in the coming school year must be to build new campus and high school SAWVs.

NDY: Over the past year it has become quite obvious that the right wing is not prepared to tolerate indefinitely our presence and the growth of our influence in the New Democratic Youth and Party. Our growing strength has created a complex problem for them: on the one hand the stronger we become, the greater the urgency of clearing us out before we present an obvious and powerful alternative to their leadership; on the other, our strength makes expulsions more difficult and more costly for them to undertake. As a result, the right wing has followed an uneven and unpredictable course. They vacillate first between a policy of disciplinary reprisals against the left, aimed at eliminating all the democratic rights which we need to exist and work in

the party, and a policy aimed at outright expulsions. And second, we have lived through their endless vacillations between sharp disciplinary actions and witch-hunting uproars, and periods of moderation and seemingly friendly collaboration. But the motions passed in recent months in both the youth and the party make the general direction clear, particularly in Ontario. Whether the right wing chooses to move against us with expulsions, or just non-discriminatory abrogation of internal democracy in general, they are now consciously laying the groundwork for a purge of the left in the Party and Youth in Ontario and very likely in British Columbia as well. It is quite an unstable situation. Their actions are unlikely to follow the clear-cut pattern of 1963, and we have no way of knowing when or in what form they will come.

Even in a period of growing right wing factionalism, the NDY remains an attractive organization for radical youth and a fruitful area of work. The comparison with the New Left is instructive. For all its dedicated full time workers and unlimited publicity, bountiful financial resources and boundless arrogance, SUPA has never been able to muster a quarter the number of active members of the NDY. The SUPA Ottawa march mobilized barely a hundred; the NDY must be credited with bringing over a thousand to the March 26 protests. In spite of its leadership, the NDY because of its ties with the NDP has a far broader appeal than the New Left. In balance, the participation of the NDY in Vietnam protests was highly positive, and shows our ability to press the NDY to action. And in spite of the right wing provocations and prohibitions, this has been a year of unprecedented expansion of the left caucus and our influence. And it continues to be a rich recruiting ground for our movement.

The Ottawa March showed a danger in this situation. In Ontario we over-reacted to the factionalism of the NDP-NDY right wing on the one hand and the opportunities in the anti-war movement on the other. For a moment we were inadvertently slipping away from our NDY orientation. The hostility of the right wing to the anti-war movement presents problems, to be sure, which must be solved by a division of labor between comrades concentrating on NDY work and open work which can limit our losses in the case of NDY reprisals against anti-war activists. At the same time we must be more NDY conscious in the anti-war movement, and we must deepen our work in the NDY in general. While putting forward our position for NDY autonomy, we must emphasize our support of the party connection. This is a time to work even harder to build the NDY, to pull together our contacts, to strengthen the left caucus on a federal level, and deepen the struggle over political issues with the right wing.

OPEN WORK: There has been a qualitative growth in our open work in the past year. The magazine *YSF (Young Socialist Forum)* has proven even more attractive and broader in its appeal than we anticipated. Paid circulation has more than doubled and subscriptions have risen from 200 to over 800. The western tour showed that *YSF* has won wide respect and interest among young radicals from many tendencies. It is playing a far more important role in all aspects of our political work. And, it might be said, these gains are at the cost of a much greater expenditure of time and money. The decision of our national convention did more than change the format and political level of *YSF*. It gave our press a qualitatively greater role in the movement, both in terms of the work required to sustain it and the opportunities to utilize it.

In Toronto and Vancouver our open functions have been quite successful, and in Toronto the YSF House and its regular meetings have attracted a wide circle of contacts. *YSF* has participated as a political tendency in united front actions. The socialist clubs in Vancouver and Toronto have held a regular series of meetings with most success in UBC and York. At the same time we have taken gradual steps to maintain our open work by freeing certain NDYers to identify themselves with socialist clubs and sell YSF openly.

All this raises some questions about the role of open work in the future. The political resolution rejected the possibility of constituting an open organization at this time. In spite of the expansion of open work since then that decision still applies to our situation for several reasons. First, *YSF* is today filling quite well the most important functions of an open movement. Through our magazine, our open meetings, our socialist clubs and our ability to present ourselves when we want as a political tendency. Second, the need for an open organizational expression for Canadian Trotskyism as a whole is filled by the LSA. Third, the youth arena is composed of political tendencies, and it is much more difficult to make credible the concept of one youth movement orienting towards another than the concept of the League orienting to a mass Party. Fourth, while the need for our NDY orientation is clearly established by our overall orientation to the *NDP* and the actual situation in the *NDY*. The *NDY* is not a mass movement, it lacks a press, a headquarters, a substantial cadre, other than us, a program in any meaningful sense; it would, even organizationally, compare unfavorably with an open *YS*.

In short, we could not convince anyone that an open *YS* existed to win the *NDY* to socialism. And it would not be true. An open *YS*, in contrast to the *LSA*, would tend in everybody's eyes to be a competitor of the *NDY*, and this would imply a sharp shift away from our present *NDY* orientation. Rather than make any such shift we can be quite content to maintain the present situation in which *YSF* does not present itself as an organization.

We will have to adjust our orientation in a different direction, however. While expulsions are likely in the coming period, we cannot say when or how the purge will come. Meanwhile we must sustain and expand our open work, and extend it into new areas. To do this we must increase the number of open comrades. The original group of expelled has diminished to a tiny handful through attrition and graduation to the League, and our open work is already severely hampered by a lack of open comrades. In Toronto we have 5, in Vancouver 2 (soon 1), in Ottawa none at all. It is not possible to permit our open work to be crippled in this way. Neither is it sufficient to simply wait for expulsions to solve the problem. We will have to begin in the coming period to pull selected comrades out of the *NDY* into the full range of open work.

We can minimize the dangers to our *NDY* work in several ways. We can draw comrades from the campus, who normally are not too involved in *NDY* work. While they will of course maintain their *NDY* memberships, we can withdraw them for the most part from active *NDY* work. In Ontario we may well need to postpone this for some time to avoid a provocation that would not suit our overall needs. (end)



1966-04 Apr 1966

### Draft Press Report April, 1966

In the period since the National Convention, our decision to change the orientation and format of our press has been dramatically validated. YSF is now reaching far greater numbers of youth than it ever succeeded in doing as a newspaper, and with a subscription base that has more than quadrupled on a considerably more consistent basis with the most important sections of our readership, i.e. with the most serious elements of youth radicalism in English Canada, and with our periphery. Furthermore, as revealed by the national secretary's recent tour, it has established us as the revolutionary tendency in the spectrum of left youth politics in the Prairies, despite our lack of locals there. In English Canada as a whole it is by far the most impressive publication in radical youth politics and certainly the most widely read and circulated.

The progress made in extending the readership and influence of YSF is of course due primarily not to the change in format, although that has made an invaluable contribution but to the conscious orientation of the magazine to young politicals, to youth who at minimum have made some elementary steps toward political involvement and commitment, rather than attempting to aim at some catch-all "mass" audience.

In general terms it can be said we have succeeded in meeting the guidelines established by the convention press resolution. However we have not met them completely by a long shot. While the main emphasis has been, as the document stated, "in-depth articles, analysis and background material...articles background and a Marxist analysis of issues of current importance, discussion of NDY developments, student struggles, etc., and polemics against our opponents in the NDY, peace movement etc", the range of the paper overall has been somewhat narrower than we originally intended, and some of the material particularly editorials, aimed at too specialized an audience. Basically what we have done is to make this main emphasis the total emphasis. While at the convention we decided that YSF had to set itself the task of appealing to all three areas of our work in high school, campus and NDY--and while in a general sense we have done that--we have not carried any significant emphasis on campus and high school news, NDY developments (other than conventions), on the woman question, our own activities and news in general as well the vast majority of the material published has been of an unnecessarily exclusively political character.

As a result, the paper has an overly heavy appearance, and as a youth publication in spite the fact the political issues we have been dealing with are certainly issues among youth--has not dealt in any significant degree with specific developments in youth life and politics.

All this results not from any lack of intention to do these things. It is perhaps an overreaction to our mistake in the opposite direction with the old YSF. More probably, the reason we haven't met these requirements too satisfactorily is we simply didn't allot the necessary space to them and allowed other material to crowd them out.



This is a mistake. News of high school and campus developments is both valid and necessary, for much of the material we would project carrying in this area appears either in YSF or not at all. Furthermore there is no reason why we should always present our ideas on an exclusively political plane, i.e., in terms of analysis and commentary on events, or polemics with our opponents within the left, etc.

We propose some changes. While YSF has generally met its responsibilities it needs to be of a more rounded character. There are several ways in which to move in this direction. One is to establish a regular high school column, allotting approximately one page of the magazine to this. Additionally the paper should attempt to devote approximately two pages to news reports, short commentary on current developments, etc. and that from time to time we carry articles less directly political in character, articles on 'cultural' topics, e.g. articles on socialist ideas in literature, poetry, etc., reviews, particularly movie reviews, satirical and humorous material. We also propose a column of approximately one page per issue analogous to the Militant's "Question and Answers About Socialism". Such a column will permit us to take up many necessary basic questions about our views in a relatively brief way, questions which should not have to wait until we have room to devote a full article to them. A proposal has also been made for a regular column dealing with the woman question, but as with the high school column, we should not commit ourselves to every issue. Obviously there is no point carrying a column in a particular issue if there is little worthwhile material available, as can sometimes be the case. With both columns, then, we should be committed to a certain regularity but not necessarily to printing them in every issue. Additionally, the proposal for a column on the woman question needs to be far more concrete than is now the case; we have committed ourselves "in principle" before on certain types of articles, but with no concrete projections being made, the "commitment" remained a vague idea.

The foregoing proposals should improve the appeal and appearance of the paper without in any significant way sacrificing the general content and political level and they should be implemented immediately.

One other important criticism that has been made of the paper is that it is too "impersonal", somewhat removed, and that it does not project itself enough. There is a certain validity to this criticism, and while the proposals made would contribute to overcoming this, it is also a question of style and presentation, rather than simply of content. What we perhaps have not always kept in mind is that YSF is our only regular public expression other than forums. We present ourselves as a paper with supporters rather than as a movement in order not to cut across the NDY orientation and compromise our long-range entry tactic. This imposes some limitations obviously which only the paper can circumvent. It is important that we proceed consciously toward enabling the paper to do just that. The following suggestions along

these lines deserve consideration: 1. expansion of coverage of our own activities, 2. reorientation of editorials, i.e., conscious orientation of the bulk of our editorials to a broad cross-section of the readership. It is felt that in the past some editorials tended to be overly specialized and addressed to too narrow an audience. 3. a short statement of what YSF is, perhaps analogous to the "Where We Stand" statement in the old YS, and 4. a slogan added to the masthead, e.g., "the voice of socialist youth".

Aside from the criticisms enumerated and the proposals put forward to meet them, the overall political balance of YSF is satisfactory. The heavy emphasis on international events is politically justified. First, it is most obvious that it is around issues such as the Vietnamese and Cuban revolutions, the colonial revolutions taken as a whole and the U.S. negro struggle, rather than domestic questions, that Canadian youth, primarily students, are gravitating toward radical ideas. Second, although not in order of precedence, is that the colonial revolution at this time is the epicenter of the global revolutionary process, and that it is our elementary responsibility as Marxist internationalists to explain, defend and rally support for these struggles. Thirdly, topics of this character afford us the opportunity to present our ideas in the context of living, dynamic, inspiring struggles and to expose the nature of capitalism in North America through the unmasking of the imperialist need for a continuous war drive.

### Projected Expansion

While proposals made earlier in this report will satisfy deficiencies noted and alleviate the "heavy" tone of the paper, the question of lightening its appearance is also partly a problem of limited space. We cannot add appreciably to the non-textual material (e.g. photos) and take advantage fully of the flexibility of the offset process with the present 16 pages without seriously cutting back on the amount of copy. Therefore we should aim in the direction of expansion to 20 pages with the same amount of copy space as at present, using the added space for photos, drawings, cartoons and simply spacing out the paper more. This would unquestionably increase the attractiveness of YSF and it is within our means to do so.

However we do not make this an immediate proposal. While this expansion is desirable, it is not essential; its cost are not insignificant and therefore such expansion must be politically justified.

Considering the importance we attach to our press and the consequent amount of time, money and energy expended on it, we are not satisfied that it is really being fully enough utilised to justify immediate expansion. It must be remembered that we are still not entirely independently solvent financially (as a movement) and that the League and its press have their own needs - needs just as pressing, possibly more so in some cases than ours. From this it follows that expansion can be justified

only on the basis of the fullest utilisation of the publication in all areas of work by all comrades, plus a more or less continuous upward trend in sales and subscription over the long haul.

While we do not have sufficient data at this time to give us an accurate and comprehensive picture nationally, we have noted the following deficiencies in the center, which may or may not be applicable in varying degrees elsewhere:

1. With few exceptions, only the open comrades really push the paper, although this is changing recently. This means that we can not realize our full potential, as the number of expelled comrades is small and is continuously whittled down, and most comrades in this category are leading comrades and very tied up with other work.
2. Related to the above, YSF is not utilised in the YND. Comrades are apparently intimidated by the security problem and reluctant to discuss YSF in the YND even though the leaders of the right wing felt free to discuss the magazine. One of our main needs with YSF is to legitimatize it, especially in the YND, our main work area generally. It is important not only that it be circulated, but debated and discussed. If discussion and debate are absent we lose at least half the reason for circulating it in the first place. We also lose an important source of evaluating just how well we are meeting the task of socialist education with our press.
3. While one of the major criticisms of the old YSF was that it was inadequate for campus work, YSF is still not being sufficiently utilized in this area. While there has been an improvement the effort to sell YSF there falls far short of being all-out. The recognition of the priority of YSF sales on campus has remained largely on the theoretical plane and has yet to be translated into practical activity on sufficient scale.
4. It seems that the majority of comrades lack an aggressive and outgoing attitude toward the utilization of YSF and towards seizing on opportunities to inject the paper into situations. Perhaps this is the result of a prolonged period of relatively deep entrisism for most of our comrades, if so, it must be vigorously combatted. Part of this attitude may flow from an overly rigid conception of our necessary division of labor. It cannot be overemphasized that YSF is the work of the whole movement, not just those involved in its planning, writing, production and sales and if that understanding is lacking or deficient then the situation must be speedily rectified.

One proposal further to assist in legitimatizing the paper is that we formally decide to change the way in which we present YSF. The formulation that it is "the paper of the expelled" is outdated and largely meaningless in the present context. The 1963 expulsions are removed by time and do not represent part of the real political experience of a very large part of the present NDY membership. The paper is better presented simply as a socialist youth publication which supports the NDP and NDY.

#### Outside Contributors

Articles by outside contributors that have appeared in YSF have been valuable to



us and we should continue to solicit such contributions where they are most useful. There are conditions that should be attached to this general policy, i.e. 1. that the contributors are known people and/or prominent in some organization or tendency, and 2. that articles concerned are of real merit. As a whole, such articles should be a one-shot proposition as we are not interested in sustaining prolonged polemics in the paper. Such discussions tend to be 'in' articles, of real interest to a limited readership. As well, the bulk of our circulation still consists of single-copy sales rather than subscriptions, which means that a significant proportion of the readership is relatively discontinuous.

#### Division of Functions:

The division of labor referred to has in fact existed not only since the first issue of the paper in magazine format but before that. The intent of this section is to briefly summarize the division that does exist and which is correct and workable, and to propose it be formally recognized so that misunderstandings are not created.

The function of the Editorial Board is to decide the political line and balance and to commission major articles. Just as the EB is responsible to the NEC for the policy of the paper, so the production staff is responsible to the EB for all its actions. However, within that framework, the production staff requires a wide range of flexibility and the authority to make decisions on day-to-day changes necessitated by the time lapse between the commissioning of major articles and publication date. The production staff should, except in the case of really major changes, have the authority to make necessary technical decisions without direct reference to the EB. There are two points involved here. The first is that EB members not directly involved in production should not spend time becoming embroiled in technical disputes. The second is that the comrades involved in production, while perhaps relatively inexperienced, are nevertheless the most skilled and knowledgeable in this area, and in general should be left in charge of it.

The first proposal under this section is that the above division of labor be recognised and approved. The second is that the EB formally strike off the comrades involved in production as a subcommittee of the EB and instruct that committee to hold short informal meetings where necessary to resolve points of contention, rather than operate on the basis of individual consultations.

#### Pamphlet Publication:

While the desirability of publishing pamphlets is probably undisputed we have so far put out only one. Since our resources and time are limited it is necessary to decide our criteria for pamphlet publication so that future discussion can be more readily removed from the abstract plane it has often been on and conclusions reached. The following criteria are proposed: 1. that the topic be either one of such current

and immediate interest as to reasonably guarantee a large initial market, and that we be both willing and able to devote the time and energy required to realize the circulation potential involved, or, that the topic be of a basic theoretical character necessary to our work in a long-range way, and that it not significantly duplicate existing material, and (2) that in the absence of a large initial market the topic be of such a character that the pamphlet will be valuable to our work over a period of years.

Working within that framework, we propose to publish in the near future a pamphlet that would in essence be a "manifesto" of YSF, explaining our basic positions and objectives in the context of "What Road for Canadian Radical Youth?". We have been feeling the lack of such a pamphlet for some time now in our open work and there is no adequate way in which we can accomplish the same purpose in the magazine, whether in one issue or several. Obviously this proposal needs to be worked out with care and in considerable detail but there is no reason preventing us from adopting it in principle and getting work on it underway.

(note: the following letter was not written for publication and is printed, by permission of comrade Blain, without revision)

Montréal  
Apr. 14, 1966

Dear Crandall,

As you requested, Nora and I had a short discussion on YSF, and formulated the following criticisms and suggestions.

First on the critical side. We felt that there was a certain excessive tendency towards being simplistic in the approach to subjects. (Particularly on the question of slogans!) I have always felt that the level on which articles are written reflect an underestimation of the capacity of high-school kids. Certainly of the politicals we are supposed to be oriented towards. To a certain extent I think the paper should be a little above "their level", in the sense that it should provide stimulation to them. I think only the "Rhodesia" and "1837 Rebellions" articles correspond to this level. I am also somewhat bugged by an occasional tendency to try to be "hip" - especially in the article on high schools that was carried. My impression (plus the reaction of a couple of contacts) would indicate that this tends to undercut somewhat our apparent seriousness. I think this is somewhat reinforced by the occasional use of rather "colourful" metaphors and other "gutsy" terminology. I think we should take it very easy here, since we do have a fairly large problem (though probably less so in Toronto now) in establishing ourselves as a rational political tendency. We have to justify our "wierd" and "outdated" Marxist ideas, and show that we are really sane after all, and do know what is coming off in the world.

Now on the positive level. We felt that since the Vietnam and Anti-war movement would likely be central in the coming period a new approach was needed. The facts on Vietnam, current, historical etc. have really been belaboured. (It is unfortunate that a full article on Canadian complicity wasn't carried before - that might be a future project.) A certain turn to more organizational questions might well be a good idea. By this we don't only mean purely organizational questions - like why membership committees, etc. But questions which are generally concerned with what is going on here in response to the war, and connected questions, such as: Why demonstrate, what effect can it have, etc; the question of slogans: Withdraw vs. negotiations; fuller reports on international (esp. U.S.) anti-war activities. Somewhat in the same vein might be a series of articles on the historical origins of the anti-war movement - dealing with major figures or episodes in the anti-war struggle.

We felt that topical articles should be continued (such as the Rhodesian one) preferably on a more regular basis. Also that some basic theoretical articles are urgently called for. Perhaps something on the line of the Militant's "Questions and Answers about Socialism".

We like the article on 1837, and felt the historical material should be continued. We also felt that more material on Quebec should appear - basic stuff putting forward our position on the national question, etc. (as opposed to reportage). We felt one way to initiate this might be to continue the historical series with an article on the origins of Confederation, with emphasis on the effects on Québec.

Hope this is what you wanted and may be of some assistance.

B. Blain.

A contribution to the discussion on

# high schools

J. Jones

youth discussion bulletin

May 1966 Plenum



## HIGH SCHOOLS

A contribution to the discussion by J.Jones

The high school system contains about 70% of the youth in Canada between the ages of 14 and 19. They are conveniently concentrated in institutions of about a thousand students making them the most accessible and organizable broad strata of the population. Reflecting the population as a whole, they are working class in origin and since only a small percentage will go on to university, they tend to be working class in perspectives as well.

High school students do not occupy anywhere near the strategic position of the working class in terms of their ability to change society but they have a power by virtue of their key position in the bourgeoisie's propaganda machine. As such, as a 'class' high school students' political power is largely limited to support of more powerful agencies of social change although their independent actions can help to undermine the stability of the system in the long run.

There are difficulties in building a sophisticated and continuous high school leadership because of age problems; on the other hand the youthfulness of high school students enhances the importance of recruits from this field, as these gains will reap dividends for many years to come in future campus and union work.

This document is being written at a time when the increasing radicalization among youth noted at our last convention is materializing the embryo of a high school political movement; The war in Vietnam is our overriding political concern; and the NDP-NDY continues its rightward drift.

## VIETNAM

Of all the forces acting to radicalize high school students, the most powerful by far is the war in Vietnam. We have recognised in other documents the necessity in certain cases of forming single issue Vietnam committees over and above our channeling of activity through the NDY. In the high school field this is especially the case.

The NDY is dominated by the NOP and hence can not generally be expected to play more of a leading role in the anti-war movement than the NDP as indicated by the recent stands of the Ontario NDY & NDP. On the other hand, opposition to the war is stronger among youth, and the desire to build a movement and impatience with the hesitations of the NDP much more powerful. Our experience in Students Against the War In Vietnam (*SAWV*) has shown that there are many high school students opposed to the war who have no connection with political organizations. While the NDY is usually too stubborn a beast to be moved into such a situation we can form an independent committee.

On top of this the high school field above all other youth fields presents the need and possibility of organizing independently of the NDY because of the NDY's notorious arrogance to the rights of high school students in the NDY. These two factors combined with broadening effect of narrowing the program to the single issue of Vietnam, make the task of building independent high school committees a necessary and highly feasible task.

We have already experienced outstanding success in this field in the form of **SAWV** in Toronto which by itself recently mobilized about 60 high school students in solidarity with demonstrations in Saigon. It has put out a five cent paper "*Dissent*", holds meetings about every two weeks and calls for withdrawal of **U.S.** troops and an end to Canadian Complicity. Similar groups are forming in Vancouver and London.

If the Toronto group can be used as guide we should realise that the political level of the new students attracted to SAWV is low. Many were simply against war in general or had vague

misgivings about the U.S. role. We had several meetings just about what was going on in Vietnam before leading to a discussion of SAWV's program. Through our influence we got a withdrawal and Canadian Complicity program although educating the membership to its real significance must still continue.

There is also a problem of making our contacts more than 'hand raisers' for our comrades' proposals. Our own comrades are the most competent people in the group, but the tendency for us to do all the work must be overcome. More new SAWVs have to be put on executives and committees and be encouraged to write for *Dissent* and give educationals to make SAWV stand on its own feet and speed the political development of the membership.

SAWV groups have to be more than organizational subcommittees for organizing demonstrations. They have to carry on some independent high school actions designed to attract school students in particular. One proposal along this line, which unfortunately didn't get carried out, was to set up meetings in every school where we had contacts on Vietnam as a way of meeting potential SAWVs in the school, through history clubs, debating clubs or whatever channel was available.

"*Dissent*", the SAWV newsletter, was another activity aimed at giving SAWVs something to recruit friends at school. *Dissent* should be continued mainly as an educative paper, giving the most basic arguments for opposing the war and explaining what is going on, to educate the SAWV members and as a recruitment pamphlet for potential members. It has been well received in other areas and there is no reason why with the development of committees in several cities *Dissent* could not take on a National character by soliciting articles and reports from other areas.

SAWV has changed the complexion of our whole periphery, bringing an influx of new high school contacts. Some of them have been brought into the NDY, especially through the campaign for political clubs; they have been attracted to our forums and are very open to buying our paper. We should soon see some more recruits from this fruitful field of work.

Fighting for an independent YND (*NDY - New Democratic Party youth -ed.*) high school organization, a students' rights organization with a socialist program, is a key task in our high school work. The importance of independence of high school students to conduct their own struggles without having to take detailed orders for their every move from right wing executives goes beyond the basic need for students to develop their own leadership and political know-how through their own mistakes. Students have come to SAWV not just because it is opposed to the War in Vietnam, but also because **it is run by high school students**. Considering that high school students spend nearly every minute of their lives being shoved around by parents, voters and taxpayers, it is not surprising that they should find SAWV a veritable haven, something that they actually control themselves. Hence also the difficulty of introducing radical high school students to the NDY where they experience the same lack of democracy and discrimination as in the world they are fighting.

## STUDENTS' RIGHTS

This prevalent feeling of high school students, especially the radical ones, that they should control their own organizations, is a reflection of the fact that fighting for action on international and domestic issues is intimately bound up with the question of discrimination against high school students in their schools and in society.

### Political Clubs

Our participation in the fight to establish the right of students to form political clubs in schools through the YND has shown how we can radicalize and organize students around students' rights issues. It is from our political clubs campaigns that most of our high school

comrades have been recruited and the recent campaign has been most responsible for attracting the SAWVers to the NDY whom we have signed up. The school boards' refusal to allow these clubs stems from the fact that as everyone knows, the main beneficiary of high school clubs will be the YND. Thus the ban on political clubs is a reprisal against the radical temperament of the high school youth. This is revealed through the standard school board argument high school students are too immature to form opinions at their age and should just engage in "well-led discussion groups" i.e., high school students are not conditioned enough to vote Liberal and Tory and might incline to radical ideas.

We have conducted successful campaigns in several cities, successful in so far as they have revealed to the students involved the arbitrariness and arrogance of school boards who have gone so far as not even to consider listening to the petitions of students. We have circulated petitions for the clubs, accumulating up to 50% of the students in several schools further exposing the lack of democracy in the schools. Although it can not be said that the majority of students are more than passively interested in the clubs themselves, we have in most campaigns, signed up a few more members to the YND, organized YNDers and contacts into high school committees with experience in fighting the administration, and gained much favorable publicity for the YND as an organization that is not afraid to stand up for the rights of high school students.

The recent victory in Toronto school board area giving us the right to form clubs in the largest school board in Canada, is definitely a victory for our work, though not a wholly rosy one. The final decision now rests with the principal in each school some of whom have already vetoed clubs, although they do not now have the school board to fall back on. We still have staff sponsors to contend with, and we have no guarantee that the school board will not reconsider its decision once the clubs start campaigning for students' rights and other 'subversive' measures. The forces really active in the campaign did not number more than about twenty, though they collected thousands of names from many schools. A stronger base than this is necessary to insure success as we proceed.

The necessity of fighting for political clubs is indicative of the fact that just being a radical in the high school system tends to bring you into conflict with the administration. You are blackballed and must fight if you are to have your views heard through the channels open to other students. Censorship of student newspapers for carrying a 'controversial' (radical) articles and proscription of students circulating leaflets for demonstrations or other political activities outside the school, are other examples of how the radical students are forced to combat the school rules.

The same radicals will be found leading demonstrations to allow students to wear long hair or to lower bus fares and milk prices, etc. These may appear as little things, but a blow-up over any one of these issues can bring to the surface the bottled up frustrations of years of being forced to accept every arbitrary rule and manipulation and regimentation by the administration without question. It is a break from the expected 'obedience' of student to teacher as child to parent and worker to boss. It can lead to exactly the type of attitude that capitalism fears most: that people should control their own lives and be willing to fight for the right to do it.

In the face of fire from the administration this takes guts and solidarity. Expulsions are threatened. Scholarships are jeopardized. It is in this confrontation that students can be clearly revealed the crudity and arbitrariness of the little Napoleons, and tyrants that are our high school principals. They can begin to understand and sympathise with workers who are fighting grievances in the factories. They can see how a lack of democracy in the schools is a precondition for creating people who will accept no democracy in the factory and how complete control of the schools by 'adults' acts as a transmission belt for feeding in the ideas of the older generation and preserving the status quo.

And so the fight for democracy in the schools can be seen as an integral part democratizing the society as a whole and can be carried to completion only through a socialist revolution in Canada. This fact that high school students can be radicalized around international, domestic and high school issues, is a key element of orienting ourselves to the high schools. The tasks in the high schools may be of a 'democratic' character, but the leadership today falls to the socialists. This evidenced by the heavy overlap in leadership personnel between the NDY, SAWV and SNCC-type groups, and high school outbreaks of an apparently non-political character. This tendency is reinforced by the parallel position of harassment and intimidation by the administration felt by the radical and any student who complains about school conditions. This 'permanent revolution' in the high schools has still to be subjected to a more theoretical analysis to explain why and to confirm whether or not this apparent trend is really seated in the nature of the high school system or whether it is perhaps an exaggeration on our part of what may prove to be passing phase. This would form the basis of a valuable further document.

On the basis of our experiences in past campaigns we have drawn up a program of students' rights which can be applied to bring students into conflict with the administration on the basis of a fight for more democracy in the schools.

1. Our program must express the aspirations of high school radicals to political freedom within the schools. We call for the right of students to free speech, an uncensored press, uncensored use of leaflets, posters, bulletin boards, P.A. systems, student assemblies, etc, the right to freely form and participate in partisan political clubs in the schools which will function openly and be granted the same rights and same facilities as other student clubs. The school must be a place where students can work out their own ideas freely and not just deal in those that the staff agrees with.

2. We call for an end to arbitrary rules and bad working conditions: for example, students should be allowed to go in the front door, usually reserved for teachers, smoking allowed in schools and if necessary special recreational lounges for such purposes as for teachers, no restrictions on hair length or dress, right to go to the washroom between classes without permission from teachers, free milk in the cafeteria (as in England) free bus fares provided by the school (just as school buses should be free), and host of other 'beefs' around any particular school.

The principal will not allow himself to be 'dictated' to by students. His authority is at stake and he will begin a campaign of intimidation and blatant disregard for the students' wishes.

3. We must call for the right of students to free speech in the campaign (as in no. 1 above), for the right of students to criticise the administration of the school in whatever way necessary including class boycotts and demonstrations with NO REPRISALS. The staff will refuse even to meet student delegations. The administration will refuse to 'negotiate' with the students 'go back to work' and stop protesting. We must call for the right of democratically elected student delegations to negotiate with any level of the school system on school matters and for the recognition of the right of students to petition the board of education.

The other side of the coin of politicizing the protest is to bring out the democratic aspects of the students' side of the action.

4. When the demands of petitions and delegations representing a real majority of the students is rejected we must call for NO EDUCATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION, and MAJORITIES RULE EXCEPT IN SCHOOL.

Implicit in the rejection of the administration's right to set their own rules and discipline the students to them is an affirmation of the students right to run the school. NO REPRISALS and NO EDUCATION WITHOUT REPRESENTATION lead directly to a posing of the question of student control of the school. These demands arise directly out of fights against simple political repression and arbitrary rules.

If the principals concede on student demands this is great, as it deepens the students' confidence in themselves to win their demands through struggle and will make any future attempt of the administration to crack down on student demands meet with heightened resistance.

5. For purposes of student council elections we can express the program in terms of the need for a democratically elected student council, on the basis of one student, one vote, no staff censorship of candidates; no staff veto over decisions on school rules, student council control of extra-curricular activities and control of discipline.

Need for such a program of student control must be motivated on the impossibility of correcting various abuses around the school without having a say in its running. Thus a student council reform campaign has to be run in conjunction with a campaign to correct grievances, and is only one tactic that can be used to extend such a campaign.

Finally the high school program must be presented in connection with demands for lowering the voting age and a living allowance for students who wish to live away from home. This shows how the manipulation at school is a reflection of the whole position of youth in our society. Forced into dependence on their parents and hence subject to their restrictions, and excluded from having a voice in the society which perpetuates these institutions by law, students are conditioned to accept the lack of democracy in later life and are inculcated with the ideas of the older generation in a self-perpetuating mechanism to preserve the status quo.

The emancipation of youth, and high school students, is part of revolutionizing society. At the same time, the lack of democracy that youth are subjected to is a reflection of the need of this society to stamp out democracy in any form at all age levels, in the school and in the factory. This can only be changed through identification with the revolutionary aims of the working class.

The high school students' rights movement can only find its completest political expression in an NDY high school movement with the link to labor. The high school program is part of the left caucus program for a socialist youth movement. The opposition of the right wing to our attempts to involve the NDY in high school struggles on our program is but another reflection of the revolutionary character of our high school orientation. The NDY right wing is opposed to all these image-destroying demonstrations which just detract from the 'real task' of selling

memberships to the NDP. They fear an influx of high school students with 'immature' i.e., radical attitudes and problems in their schools which require a militant solution. The right wing has fought to water down our program and has more or less successfully controlled high school groups such as the Toronto Council high school committee by sending down edicts on the content of leaflets and the time and place of demonstration in violation of the wishes of the high school students because we had a majority.

We must try to get the NDY to adopt our program and take the leadership in high school struggles, and through these actions build up a high school complement to the NDY. Wherever possible we should call for the election of high school students to executives as high school coordinators, we should form high school committees of clubs and area councils with as much tactical independence as possible within the NDY program. We can go on to set up affiliated high school clubs embracing one or a number of schools. These would provide us with a firmer base for the independence of action of these clubs, would have the advantage of the cheaper affiliation dues, and would still allow us to sign up the more developed contacts into constituency youth groups where they could mingle with our older comrades.

It is important in these high school clubs and committees that only high school students can vote, though others may have voice. This is the only form of organization compatible with the specific needs of high school students and is a safeguard against domination by university students and old right wingers who would only hold back militant actions and stifle the development of an indigenous high school leadership.

If the NDY could be shoved into playing a leading role in initiating this movement, the need for a 'student union movement' might not arise. We attempted once to form a 'students' rights federation' around the time of the Selma demonstrations. We were running a campaign for political clubs in one school and had just finished a fight to reinstate a boy expelled for having long hair in another school. Our first small meeting turned out to be 80% NDYers and we figured we could just as well work through the NDY for students' rights. We used the same orientation in having the NDY be the vehicle for the political clubs fight. The main activists were all so close to the NDY that no new forces could really be involved by forming some broader ad hoc committee around the one issue of political clubs.

We can expect increasing numbers of students to become involved in these and other protests which may catch on to the extent of enabling us to push for a students' union in which NDYers would play a leading role, but would be much broader.

Up until now our main effort in Students' rights work has been the political clubs in high schools, although we have participated in campaigns from abolishing compulsory cadets, to opposing discrimination against long hair, we should continue our successful work in the political clubs campaign but should see if we can utilize our high school forces to take more initiative in fighting student grievances and carrying this fight into student council elections. This would be predicated on the existence of considerable forces outside of ourselves who would be involved. This perspective can be instructively contrasted to the campus, where with the unrestrictive atmosphere and petty-bourgeois mentality there is less potential in campaigns on student issues and we would not give it much emphasis on campus.

The present rightward drift of the NDY and the increasing difficulty of channeling high school protests through it, means that we may well have to set up ad hoc committees on students' rights, which may or may not take root and develop into a high school 'union movement'. There would be similarities in the relationship of such committees to the NDY as with SAWV and the NDY. In the next period, while trying to push the NDY into the anti-war and high school movements, we can expect difficulties and the SAWV and students' rights committees would become our main area of high school activity. We must still hold out in all these situations the perspective of a high school NDY in applying our NDY orientation in this field. At the same time we will have to bring contacts to movement by a more direct route, having to recruit people from SAWV before getting them active in the NDY.

We have been very successful for example in Toronto, in bringing high school contacts to our youth forums, especially one with a panel of high school leaders. When we have especially attractive forums we should distribute high schools for them. In London an informal Marxist study group has been formed to bring in some of the new contacts attracted to a new Vietnam committee. We should push subscriptions to our paper among our high school contacts and the editorial board should take into consideration the fact that high school students are becoming an increasing portion of our readership.

We already have 8 high school comrades in the national movement, and have just begun.

## **HIGH SCHOOL LEADERSHIP**

There are certain problems in building a leadership for the high schools. High school politicals have a maximum life span of five years. (Our comrades do not flunk). Only recently though have we seen the development of a leadership that will not be swept out by the next high school graduations. Many leading high school comrades still have two or three years to spend in school. Even so their youth imposes a limitation on the scope of their experience. Parents and school work combine to prevent them being as active as they would like to be. Short of lengthening the duration of high school, there is little we can do about this. This fact should be reflected in a less stringent recruitment standard for high school students and emphasis on educating new high school comrades.

In high school committees, our own comrades are usually the most competent people of the lot, but we must not allow ourselves to dominate the situation to the point where we are burdened with most of the work and our contacts are excluded from valuable experience in administrative skills, attendance at peace group meetings as delegates, giving educational, etc. This is an easy trap to fall into in a group of inexperienced high school students who haven't had much previous connection with politics.

Other leading comrades, especially those just out of high school, should try and get invited to high school fractions to discuss the work with the high school comrades. The movement can play a valuable role in helping out our high school contact work also.

*(end)*



# young socialists

## discussion bulletin

---

VOL. 3 NO. 1

- (A) 1. For an Open Organization (2pp)  
-- the N.E.C.
- (B) 2. The Young Socialists of Canada (6pp)  
-- by J. Grandall  
(international report  
on youth work in  
Canada)

FEB. 1967

---

## FOR AN OPEN ORGANIZATION

In four months we will begin the discussion period for our convention. At the head of our agenda will be the discussion of the open face of the YS, and of our NDY work. The discussion has in fact already begun on an informal level. In the past months we have already been quietly changing our emphasis, pulling back from NDY work and moving out more and more boldly in open work. In part this was documented by the last plenum--but the process is going further. Rather than continue to drift, the NEC has decided to initiate the discussion now, on the NC level, of the question of our open work. While the question cannot be finally resolved except by the convention, our present discussion can give us some guidance for the intervening six months, and lay the groundwork for the political resolution we will soon write.

The norm for revolutionary marxists is to function openly, in our case through a revolutionary socialist youth group. We dissolved our open organization in 1961 because of a particular situation and a particular opportunity posed by the period of the formation and initial growth of the NDY. We argued, first, that we did not have the forces or the attractiveness to bypass the NDY and build a revolutionary socialist youth group openly. Second, we felt that the new party youth had the potential of becoming a mass movement, and that it was a fluid movement where we had a real possibility of substantial victories in the struggle to win it over to socialism. We believed that we had to make the sharp adjustments necessary to seize these possibilities. In the subsequent years, the NDY was our orientation, and our main area of work. Even when we began to move out with our publication and with youth forums in 1964, we maintained a high level of security in our NDY work, and refused to admit that we were an organization.

Today, our movement in Canada retains its full political orientation to the NDP, and this orientation shapes and conditions all our work and propaganda in the youth arena. The NDY has survived, and remains by far the largest youth organization in Canada, and through its NDP ties retains attraction to young people. But the NDY, like its parent party, has hardened. It has acquired a reputation, traditions--none too good for the most part. Its strength is highly uneven, and it is ominously weak in the main political centers: Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver. Over the past year, we have found the NDY less attractive to young militants, while more and more people interested in socialism come directly to us, and balk at concentrating their energies at winning the NDY to socialism. Meanwhile, the lack of an open organization has been holding us back, muffling our appeal to young people, and often robbing us of a vehicle to mobilize them in bold actions.

We need a public revolutionary socialist youth organization, one whose activities are the main focus of our work. It would be in many ways close to the pattern set by the ISA, and would politically support, and apply for affiliation to the NDY. We would work in the NDY to the extent that it presented a valuable arena for our work. But it would not necessarily, or frequently, be our main area of activity. In contrast to the present situation, we would declare ourselves an organization, and directly call on young socialists to join our ranks.

- - - - -

(P.')

We have found in the past months that the move toward an open organization can be a gradual process through many intermediate steps. In the past year, we have begun this sort of gradual transition. The NDY is no longer the main area of our work. We have been steadily more bold in our use of YSF, in the way our comrades associate themselves with YSF, and the way we use our headquarters. In the anti-war movement, for example, we now work mainly as YSFers, rather than left NDYers, while YSF participates as a tendency in united front actions. While we talk of the need to win the NDY to socialism, we no longer define the purpose of YSF in these terms. YSF has claimed a broader function, to be the voice of socialist youth, and the agency for winning Canadian youth to socialism. The election campaigns in Toronto and Vancouver made our change in emphasis very clear. In the majority of locals, almost all our contacts now come from the anti-war movement, from open work, or some other area outside the NDY.

We propose to continue our open work along these lines in the coming six months. We must talk more of the need for young people to support us, support YSF, because we are the tendency that has set about to win Canadian youth to socialism. We must be more open about the organizational sides of YSF--we should invite contacts to mailings and similar organizational activities, and create a free and open atmosphere about our public headquarters. We should hold independent activities, like the election campaigns, to make ourselves better known in youth circles, and attract radical youth directly to us. For example, two years ago we carried an effective campaign against police censorship bylaw 12 through the NDY--today we should be ready to move out, in similar situations, with YSF. Our open comrades should not be limited to a select handful in Canada. We should open up a considerable number of comrades not held back by NDY work, personal or other considerations.

Our position does not imply, in any way, that we are pulling out of the NDY. Furthermore, we recognize that there are areas (like Ottawa, or Alberta) where the NDY is a going concern and an important area of work, and must receive great emphasis. In Toronto, we have seen the need to reestablish ourselves in the NDY on a modest basis. But we cannot say, today, that the YS has an orientation to the NDY, in the sense that the NDY is the main emphasis in our work, and conditions our work in all other areas--as was the case only two years ago. We cannot engage in an NDY-building contest with the right wing, in a movement where the Right arbitrarily controls program and selects leadership. Our comrades in the NDY will work to build it, but the extent of our NDY work must be determined by the possibilities in each area. We must dodge deep involvement in organizational struggles for control of the movement, and find every possibility to raise the basic political questions in our NDY work, to debate the future course of the NDP and the need for a socialist Canada.

approved by the NEC  
December 20, 1966



INTERNATIONAL REPORT ON THE  
YOUNG SOCIALISTS OF CANADA

The vehicle for our youth work in Canada is the Young Socialists a Trotskyist youth movement. The purpose of the Canadian YS is defined in its constitution: "to educate youth in the program of revolutionary Marxism and enlist the youth of our society in the struggle to build a vanguard party..." The relationship to the Canadian Section is clearly set down in the constitution: "The Canadian Section and the YS are autonomous parts of a common movement. The YS declares its adherence to the objectives and program of the Canadian Section, but within that framework is completely autonomous as an organization."

The history of the YS dates from 1960-61, when young members of the Canadian Section set up Trotskyist youth groups in Toronto and Vancouver. Neither group numbered initially more than half a dozen. From the beginning we placed our central emphasis on building these groups, on building the forces of Trotskyist youth in Canada.

The formation of the New Democratic Party, Canada's labor party, in 1961 presented us with a tremendous opportunity and challenge. We were reluctantly compelled to give up the open face of our youth groups in order to join and establish ourselves in the youth wing of the NDP. Henceforth our youth movement operated on two levels. Externally, most of our comrades were active members of the New Democratic Youth and prominent leaders of its left wing. Internally, we bent every effort to build our own Trotskyist youth organization, recruiting to it the most advanced young radicals we met, both in the NDY and through the open activities of our adult movement.

In 1962, our comrades in Vancouver initiated a mimeographed publication of our tendency in the NDY--Young Socialist Forum. In 1963 about 30 comrades were expelled from the NDY--almost our entire NDY fraction. The expelled comrades continued the publication of Young Socialist Forum in a printed format, and established it as the open face of Canadian Trotskyist youth. Within a year we were able to rebuild our fraction in the NDY to a greater strength than before. In 1965, we held our first convention and drew together our youth locals in a democratic Canada-wide organization, the Young Socialists.  
(centralist)

The Young Socialists arose in English Canada. However, we now have an open youth group in Montreal of both English-speaking and French-speaking comrades, the Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes. The LJS holds forums, and circulates both La Lutte Ouvriere, French-language publication of our adult movement and Young Socialist Forum.

We now have functioning locals in six centers. The YS makes considerable financial demands on its members, and sustains our magazine, our headquarters, three full-time workers, as well as the expenses of our day-to-day activities. We have achieved a real hegemony among radical youth tendencies: we are the only tendency to have a cohesive national structure, a popular magazine, regularly held public functions across the country. We are the leading political influence in the student anti-war movement. Our membership has been doubling every 2-3 years. We now have more militants than any other radical youth organization except the New Democratic Youth, whose activists are, to a large extent, our own comrades.

OUR ORIENTATION TO YOUTH WORK

Our goal of building a Trotskyist youth movement is based on the conviction that young people face their own distinctive problems, have their own social outlook, and that they will come to socialism through their own organizations under a leadership which develops out of their own ranks. But who are these youth? What is the proper field of activity for a youth movement? The Canadian Section itself is very young--(the average age of delegates to its last convention was only 25). What is the proper division of labor with the adult movement?

We see the schools and the universities as the natural arena for youth work. Students face the characteristic dilemmas and share the characteristic attitudes of young people. We attract some young workers, but they are mainly those fresh out of school, and not yet engaged in trade union activity. We are not a movement of young adults. Active trade unionists, no matter how young, face the same problems and are attracted to the same organizations as adult workers.

Young people usually leave school, marry and assume the responsibilities and outlook of adults before they are 25. The YS has an age limit of 27--but this serves the purpose only of enabling us to develop a mature, experienced youth leadership. YS members tend to leave the youth at a younger age, and our average age is 21. The average age of members of our leading bodies is also 21.

Our recruits come in roughly equal proportions from the universities, the high schools, and from among young workers. Of our membership, roughly one half are in school. Roughly one fifth are in trade unions--most of them having entered a unionized shop after joining the movement.

We have campaigned through the New Democratic Youth and our open activities for democracy in the schools, and a number of our comrades have participated in student struggles in the high schools. We are now working at rounding out a full program for youth, and at presenting it more regularly in our publication, Young Socialist Forum.

The Young Socialists have a Trotskyist program, and are organized along the principles of democratic centralism. But the Youth is not a mirror image of the adult movement nor is it a fraction of the adult movement working in the youth arena. The YS recruits more aggressively than the adult movement, and at a more basic political level. Its discipline is more flexible, and its propaganda in general more oriented to the problems and concerns of young people. The YS has been able to reach out far more broadly and more boldly, recruit and integrate young revolutionaries into the Trotskyist movement, and has thus enormously speeded the growth of the adult section.

## OUR WORK IN THE NEW DEMOCRATIC YOUTH

The New Democratic Youth has the largest membership by far of radical youth organizations in Canada, and its right wing leadership is our main rival for hegemony of Canadian radical youth. The Communist Party is weak and the Maoist movement stillborn, and neither have any real influence among young people. There are no other groups claiming to represent Marxism. The much publicized New Left is weak, disorganized, and non-political in orientation.

The New Democratic Party was formed in 1961 on the initiative of the bureaucracy of the main Canadian trade union federation and a group of reformist politicians, and it was saddled from the beginning with a reformist leadership and program. But its formation was a break with bourgeois politics for the labour movement, and thus a step forward for the whole working class. Since 1961 the NDP has won the support of hundreds of thousands of workers. In contrast to the social-democratic and communist parties of Europe, the NDP has no strong reformist tradition, and although it has hardened in the past few years, its leadership is far less firmly entrenched.

The League for Socialist Action, public face of our movement in English Canada, calls on workers to support and join the NDP, and to join us in the struggle to win the NDP to socialism. Not surprisingly, the LSA has been outlawed by the NDP leadership. We have a substantial number of comrades working in the party, where we have organized a socialist caucus--while the LSA continues to present its ideas openly.

The formation of the New Democratic Party had an enormous influence on radical youth: opening the way for them to join a mass movement engaged in the struggle for political power, and to make contact with the mass organizations of the working class. While the NDP leadership has not encouraged the growth of the Youth, and has saddled it with a reformist do-nothing leadership, the Youth has maintained 2500 members on the books since its foundation.

We entered the NDY and plunged into the task of building it, and of organizing the socialists in the NDY into a left caucus struggling to win it to a socialist leadership and program. At the same time we bent every effort to strengthen our own group, and to increase our own forces. We did not aim to split the NDY, or some part of it, from the Party, and set up an independent centrist youth tendency. We saw our task not as creating a centrist youth movement, but as building the Trotskyist youth. Our strategy was to utilize the NDY as an arena for our propaganda and our recruitment, an arena in which our contacts and comrades could maintain contact with the mass movement, the NDP, and fight out the decisive alternative between reformism and revolutionary socialism which the NDP has placed before Canadian radicals.

Our "Left Caucus" in the NDY is loosely organized and operates as a flexible united front of socialists in the NDY. We have resisted tendencies for the Caucus to take on a more highly organized character or more advanced program in order to prevent it from becoming a substitute for our own revolutionary socialist youth movement.

At every stage of our NDY work we maintained a strong open face. During the period when we had no open youth face, we utilized the public face of the adult movement, the League for Socialist Action. The LSA holds weekly or fortnightly forums in the main centres, to which we brought our youth



contacts. It publishes a monthly newspaper, giving us the invaluable weapon of a popular publication carefully presenting the Trotskyist line on all major questions, whose content is determined by our movement alone. The movement always maintained a substantial number of open comrades who could directly present the Trotskyist point of view to our contacts, and convince them of the necessity to join the Trotskyist movement.

Since 1963 the Young Socialists have had their own public face, the magazine Young Socialist Forum. YSF now maintains public headquarters, holds regular public meetings, dances, and other activities, sponsors university Socialist Clubs, and even runs for election to civic office. Young people have been attracted all the more readily to a youthful expression of Trotskyist ideas.

Our independent pole of attraction was an invaluable aid to our NDY work. The attractiveness of the NDY to militant youth is limited by the reformist program of the NDP, and a good part of the socialists in the NDY were sent there by us, after we got to know them through open activities. Open work is a pole of attraction for NDYers, showing them the effectiveness and necessity of broad revolutionary socialist propaganda and of building an independent revolutionary socialist group. We met nearly half our recruits through our open work. While the NDP has huge support among young people, few of them are attracted to the NDY. In those centres where we are established our public activities are more attractive to young people than those of the NDY.

#### ANTI-WAR WORK

While Canada is not participating directly in the fighting in Vietnam, the Canadian government supports and aids the US. war effort in a variety of ways: diplomatic support, apologist for the U.S. on the International Control Commission, and open seller of war material. The war has had a great impact on Canadian politics, and is the biggest political question for young people.

For over a year, the main priority of our external work has been to build a student anti-war movement in Canada. We were held back for a time by the opposition of every other political tendency to the building of a united anti-war movement, and the lack of any spontaneous protest by Canadian students.

All this delayed the emergence of a real student movement until this Autumn, when we were able to call, on our own initiative, a Canada-wide Student Days of Protest. The action was carried in most of the major Canadian cities, and while the size of the demonstrations was usually modest, it was the most impressive student action in Canada in many years. Over a dozen student committees formed around this action, and most have remained active. Three of them are based in the high schools. The student committees have bypassed the other political tendencies, and by and large have attracted politically uncommitted students who have radicalized around the issue of Vietnam.

We are the only political tendency with any real influence in this movement, and in most areas we are its recognized leadership. Our program for the anti-war movement is widely accepted in the movement. Student committees have generally worked together with community committees in common projects

and most student committees circulate the Canada-Vietnam Newsletter, which broadly reflects our positions in the movement. Our biggest project now is the Russell Tribunal and we hope in the coming months to launch a major action around it. At the same time we hope to bring the committees together in some kind of Canada-wide federation.

We have pushed for a program based on End Canadian Complicity and Immediate Withdrawal of U.S. Troops. We have gone through a struggle against the proponents of "negotiations" similar to that in the U.S. --though far less intense. "Withdrawal" is now accepted by most of the student committees. We have pushed for the slogan End Canadian Complicity in order to turn the movement against the Canadian supporters of the war, against our own capitalist class, and take it out of the track of supporting some kind of anti-American "De-Gaullist" tendency in Canada.

We have not raised the slogan of support of the National Liberation Front in the anti-war committees. We are aiming for a broad united-front movement of all those who oppose the war. Of the third of the Canadian population who favour Withdrawal of U.S. troops only an insignificant minority would be prepared to support the Vietnamese revolution. We wish to emphasize our ties with the U.S. anti-war movement and our desire to save the lives not just of Vietnamese--but of the American G.I.'s as well. The program of the anti-war movement must be clearly based on self-determination for Vietnam and 100% opposition to U.S. presence in Vietnam--but it must be a program for a mass movement of Canadians not yet ready to defend socialist revolutions. Our own movement, the Young Socialists, is carrying out the task of explaining and openly defending the Vietnamese revolution to young people.

VOL. 3  
NO. 6

JUNE  
1967

# Discussion Bulletin



## CONTENTS :

1. NOTES ON YSF by J. FRAZER (Vancouver)
2. DRAFT ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

Submitted by the National Executive Committee.

(3pp)

(8pp)



The Press document points out the overwhelmingly positive character of our experience with the new YSF format decided at the last convention. YSF has become the most popular socialist youth magazine in Canada, and the most effective. But if YSF is to play the role it should in meeting the opportunities and challenges that face us in the next two years, this convention must take a hard look at YSF's deficiencies and outline ways to overcome them.

Next October the Vanguard will be coming out twice a month. The Vanguard should carry youth news, and we will want to push it to youth contacts. We may be faced with the problems the YS has had with the Militant unless YSF's character as a specifically youth publication is well established. At the same time, the success of YSF has had an impact on our political opponents. SUPA is beginning to take its newsletter more seriously. The CP is undertaking a thorough discussion and some changes re Scan. If YSF is to meet this competition, and avoid duplicating the services the Vanguard will provide to youth, we need to make some criticisms, and some changes.

#### YSF AS A YOUTH MAGAZINE

YSF, in spite of its name and its articles on specifically youth questions (high schools etc.), is not written for youth. It isn't iconoclastic enough. It isn't satirical often enough. It isn't outrageous enough or outraged enough. Our general articles and editorials read like resolutions or statements of the FI.

YSF's material is good. It shouldn't be less political, but it should deal with political questions from a different angle. We should write in a way that picks up and extends the first reactions of young people against the system -- the reaction against hypocrisy, conformity, prejudice.

YSF should assault all taboos head on. The Margaret Sanger article was good, but an article on the significance of the pill would be better -- more topical, lighter and just as political.

We can be iconoclastic and entertaining while we deal with very serious social questions. An interview with the bunny girls who struck in Toronto would be better than the interview with Harry Payne. That could be the basis of an article that would be amusing, and would deal with the woman question, the betrayals of the trade union misleadership, the importance of organizing white collar workers, etc.

An article on Muhammad Ali, with a cover photo, could be more effective, and just as political, as the article on black power. Negro nationalism, Vietnam, the draft, all come up in an article around a story that dominates the sport pages.

Our basic socialist education could include a discussion with the hippies on dropping out vs. social change, or idealism vs. materialism. YSF hasn't yet touched on the psychedelic scene which is the easiest and most widely-publicized alternative to this society (though an illusion as an alternative) that faces young people these days.

Vietnam, the most important political issue facing young radicals, has been overplayed and not dealt with in a way that appeals specifically to youth. YSF's articles on Vietnam have generally been either analytical and very general and

hard, duplicating the work of the Vanguard and World Outlook, or news reports on Vietnam and/or the anti-war movement -- material which is covered in the Canada/Vietnam Newsletter and other anti-war publications.

Vietnam should come up in discussions of all kinds of other issues. We shouldn't feel compelled to deal with it specifically as often as we do, and when we do deal with it specifically we should be careful not to duplicate the work of other periodicals. An exclusive YSF interview with Howard Petrick is one example of the scoops we could make. We could ask him, a GI and opponent of the war, what he thinks of young Americans coming to Canada to avoid the draft.

YSF should have less news and be more topical. Our objective should not be to state the Trotskyist position on current events. We want our contacts to read the publications of our movement which are designed to do this. Our editorials on federal elections are quite out of place in a youth publication. We should be satirical when we speak about parliament, do a job on the bourgeois politicians and their connections with big business, etc.

Rather than our NDY convention reports (of which we have had 8 since our last convention!), we should have articles participating in the debates in the NDY. We should discuss questions like "can the anti-war movement end the war" rather than reporting developments in the movement as we did on March 26 and in the interview with Karen.

Our background articles on international current events should be less frequent and aimed at participating in a discussion that is going on among radical youth.

The historical articles are generally good, but could be shorter. Our role here, and with the articles on current events, should be to reprint material that isn't generally available -- i.e. the statement of the Hungarian revolutionaries -- with the shortest possible introduction. As much as possible, we should make the historical articles exposes of the school text books.

#### YSF AND OTHER AREAS OF WORK

In spite of our efforts to the contrary, and the tremendous improvement which came with the magazine format, YSF is still largely an area of work in itself, not part of our work in other areas. Our comrades are involved in the anti-war movement, in or around the NDY, and in student struggles. Our public functions, our YSF forums, have been quite successful in drawing these areas of work together and developing into a center for discussion with contacts from all these areas. We can't say that YSF has had the same success, although as the 1965 document says "Only a press can centralize our actions throughout the breadth of the country and in all our fields of political action..." YSF has not been effective in our work with young politicals.

YSF has been almost silent on the major debates that are going on around issues like student politics, students and social change, direct action vs. political action, Canadian nationalism, etc.

We should attempt to debate these questions with other political tendencies in the pages of YSF. The attractiveness of YSF forums to newly radicalized or just-curious students and to politicals has been largely due to the fact that they present a conflict of ideas.

But even if we can't get other tendencies to debate us in YSF, we can carry polemics against articles in the SUPA newsletter, Canadian Dimensions, etc.

We can carry debates with other tendencies without making YSF too amorphous. In fact, such debates would put us in a good position to present our movement and our ideas in a clear and hard way, and use YSF more directly to build our movement.

## YSF ON CAMPUS

The press document dismisses the fact that YSF has not been used on campus with a call for greater effort on the part of the comrades involved. It's clear after two years of experience that this requires more discussion.

Why isn't YSF used on campus? It has been shown in the odd experiment that it is not difficult to sell YSF in a mass way on campus. The main problem is that YSF is not related to our campus work -- our anti-war work, our participation in student struggles, our contact work. YSF doesn't answer the questions that campus politicals pose.

One reason that YSF has not dealt with major issues on campus is that we have not really worked out an aggressive orientation to the campus scene. Now that we are launching an open organization, we should be involved in the leadership of student struggles, in student elections, etc. We should take the lead in exposing big business control of the university. We should work out a position on the multiversity, etc. etc.

Until we establish ourselves as the revolutionary socialist tendency on campus and in campus politics, there will be an "us and them" relationship between students (even radical students) and YSF.

## CONCLUSION

The objective of YSF is two-fold: to reach out to new young people and create an interest in socialism and our movement; and to help establish our hegemony in the youth left. The two are not necessarily contradictory. The articles on Hockey and How to Make a Billion appeal to new radicals and to campus politicals. The debates with other tendencies can be written clearly, without obscure terminology, and can be relevant to any young person interested in politics.



## **DRAFT ANTIWAR RESOLUTION (May 1967)**

The struggle between imperialism and the forces of the world socialist revolution has become in our epoch the struggle for the existence of humanity. Today, this struggle is focused in Vietnam. Here, the most powerful military force in the world is waging a genocidal war against a tiny people whose main strength is its will to defeat imperialism. Moreover, for the first time since Korea, imperialism has directly attacked a workers state. The outcome of this struggle will in large measure determine the relationship of forces in the world long after its conclusion.

The tactics of imperialism in Vietnam are primarily determined by its political need to stem the tide of revolutionary struggles in the colonial world, and to maintain South Vietnam as a link in the ring of military bases encircling China. This aggression forms part of imperialism's global strategy — to dominate and police the world by crushing the colonial revolution, with the eventual goal of crushing the workers states.

If Vietnam is a test for American imperialism, it is all the more a test for all the workers states and all sectors of the working class movement. Moscow's ruling circles, whose line is followed by most of the world's Communist Parties, have failed to conduct an aggressive defense of the Vietnamese revolution. They have the power to halt Johnson's escalation if they choose to do so. They could do this by making it explicitly clear that they are ready to come to the immediate assistance of China, if the latter is attacked, putting at the disposal of north Vietnam the most advanced range of weaponry, initiating a calculated "counter-escalation" of its support to Vietnam in step with the continued escalation of the war by the U.S. government, and finally, committing its forces to a world-wide campaign to build a mass anti-war movement. Rather than follow such a line of revolutionary defense of the Vietnamese revolution, the Soviet regime and its followers has hewed to its policy of "peaceful coexistence," limiting its aid to Vietnam and participation in the anti-war movement while working for some accommodation with imperialism along the lines of the 1954 Geneva Agreements.

In line with this policy, the Canadian CP (Communist Party) has given only token support to the anti-war movement. Rather than support broad united actions, it has vacillated between attempting to exclude the radical wing of the movement and excluding itself from militant united actions, while trying to orient the movement programmatically to accommodate conservative-minded pacifists and Canadian nationalists.

The Chinese regime has also carried out a narrow and ineffective campaign against the aggression in Vietnam. They maintain the sectarian policy of refusing to join in a united front in defense of Vietnam with countries and parties who do not line up against Soviet "revisionism" — leaving unchallenged Moscow's assertion that it supports a united front. Their line is echoed by the Canadian Maoists, who conduct narrow propaganda for support of the NLF while abstaining from the work of the anti-war movement.

The social democracy, with one major exception (Japan) has either openly supported the war or like the NDP limited itself to token statements of friendly criticism of (*U.S. President*) Johnson. The NDP leadership has meanwhile held back its forces from meaningful participation in the anti-war movement.

But the brutality of U.S. intervention has created wide circle of dissent around the world. Cuba and Korea have called for a united front in defense of Vietnam. The outspoken statements of Bertrand Russell and Jean-Paul Sartre, and the work of the War Crimes Tribunal with which both are associated, has opened new roads for the development of the anti-war movement, while greatly increasing the pressure on the Communist Parties. Youth in Eastern Europe have defied their governments to protest the war. In Western Europe, the development of dissenting currents within and without the old organizations was demonstrated at Liege, Belgium, in October, when nearly 4000 socialist and communist youth from all over Europe expressed their solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. Some of these youth came despite the violent opposition of the Communist Party leaderships, and some were expelled for participating. New militant organizations are being formed as a result of the failure of the Stalinist leaderships to carry militant struggle against the war.

The world Trotskyist movement has been the foremost and most consistent opponent of the war – and has won many new forces because of this. We have helped move the rank and file of the communist and social-democratic organizations because of our position against the war. The continuing confrontation between our ideas and the reformist forces has won valuable forces to revolutionary socialism. We have fought with considerable success to build the movement, and give it a line of anti-imperialism and self-determination for Vietnam.

In the United States, it is the Trotskyist movement who have taken the lead in promoting the first movement against a war conducted while the war was in progress. The anti-war forces have succeeded in mobilizing wide sectors of the population, and are beginning to bring in the Negro movement, and parts of the labor movement.

In Canada the anti-war movement is still young, and small relative to the U.S. movement. But with the widening of the war, and its growing impact on Canadian society, the prospects for the growth of the Canadian movement are excellent. The anti-war movement is an international phenomenon, in which the heroic struggles of the Vietnamese combine with the patient work of the U.S. opponents of the war in creating a formidable opposition to the U.S. military machine. The Canadian anti-war movement can play an important part in the growing strength of the world-wide movement, as well as in the building of a revolutionary movement in Canada which will join in leading the struggle to end imperialist war forever.

## **The Nature of the Anti-War Movement**

The present anti-war movement is qualitatively different from older formations like the Canadian Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. The old anti-bomb movement had a predominantly pacifist character and a third camp position vis-à-vis the cold war. The present movement is against a particular war which imperialism sees as extremely important at this juncture, lays the blame for the war on the imperialists, and as such is an objectively anti-imperialist movement. Since war is an integral part of the imperialist system, to oppose a particular war is to challenge a fundamental aspect of the system, even though it is possible for imperialism to end this war if it is forced to by mass pressure.

While Canada's less direct involvement in the war has retarded the growth of the anti-war movement here relative to the United States, the widening of the war and the threat of World War 3 can promote the growth of a mass anti-war movement here.

Had the NDP leadership moved out to lead the anti-war movement, it would have acquired a qualitatively different character. Opposition to the war would have become linked to the broader question of changing society posed by the NDP. In the initial phases of the Canadian anti-war movement, we tried to turn the NDP in this direction. The first major Canada-wide action, the March 26 march on Ottawa, was initiated by the NDY through our efforts. The NDP leadership and their puppets in the NDY pulled back sharply, opposed further involvement in the anti-war movement, and have largely limited involvement to a few token speeches, and even sabotaged the movement. We must continue to attempt to force the NDP to join and lead the anti-war movement. Even if the NDP leadership remains unwilling to reverse its course, we can win individual NDPers into the movement, and help expose the NDP leadership.

"The reformists dread the revolutionary potential of the mass movement, their beloved area is the parliamentary tribune, the trade union bureaus, the arbitration boards, the ministerial ante-chambers.

"On the contrary, we are, apart from all other considerations, interested in dragging the reformists from their asylums and placing them alongside ourselves before the eyes of the struggling masses." (Trotsky, *"Draft Theses on the United Front."*)

But the present abstention of the NDP and trade union leaderships does not prohibit the development of a mass movement against the war in Canada. The expansion of the war itself is the key factor in the growth of movement. As the movement itself grows, it can compel these leaderships to join its ranks and thus give it a broader base.

As the anti-war movement grows, we see it playing an effective role in ending the complicity of the Canadian government in the war, and as part of an international movement adding strength to the U.S. movement, we see the Canadian movement playing a role in the halting of U.S. aggression.

We enter the anti-war movement as revolutionary socialists. We support the Vietnamese revolution unconditionally, and we support the heroic struggle of the NLF against imperialism in spite of criticisms we may have of its program and organization.

We do not ask the anti-war movement to adopt this position. Indeed, we would be opposed to it doing so, at least in English Canada at this juncture. Although some sections of the **present** movement might well accept our program we must always pose the necessity of expanding the movement to reach new layers.

## **WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW!**

For this reason, we put forward the slogan which both characterizes the war as a war of aggression by the U.S., and which, in the Canadian context, has the greatest capacity for winning new forces to the movement.

This slogan embodies the principle of self-determination for the Vietnamese people, although the Vietnamese may, in the future, be forced to negotiate, this does not alter our demand for withdrawal. Our demands are aimed at undermining the imperialist position, giving the greatest aid possible to the Vietnamese revolution.

## **END CANADIAN COMPLICITY!**

But we are a **Canadian** anti-war movement and the Canadian government is deeply involved in U.S. aggression in the war. The key feature of Canadian complicity is the diplomatic and political complicity of Ottawa, the welter of "peace initiatives" sponsored by Pearson and Martin, calculated to show the Canadian people and the world that the Vietnamese are "aggressors", not really interested in "negotiations". In the context of the magnitude of the ideological support lent the U.S. by the Canadian-government, the arms shipments are really secondary, in fact merely a payoff by the American ruling class to their Canadian junior partners in return for their political support. We have a clear duty to expose the vicious and hypocritical role of the Canadian government, and to mobilize the anti-war movement to force an end to Canadian complicity. Some nationalist forces (CP, SUPA), seeing the popularity of the "End Canadian Complicity" slogan, try to direct the thrust of the demand to the arms shipments, and away from the role of the government itself. When the CP talks about the Canadian government it says that the government is "quiet" about Vietnam. But this is a lie. The Canadian government has stated that it supports the general aims of the U.S. in Vietnam. Further, and this is what the CP leaves unsaid, the Canadian government is actively and willingly supporting the U.S. politically and diplomatically. Our task and that of the anti-war movement is to lay responsibility for Canadian complicity where it belongs – at the doorstep of the Canadian government – and to end it.

## **Vietnam aux Vietnamiens, le Québec aux Québécois**

The logic of the Quebec situation makes it possible for our comrades there to link up the war with the oppression of the French Canadian nation. As a people the Québécois suffer grave infringements on their national rights at the hands of English Canadian and U.S. capitalism. The parallel with Vietnam on the question of national self-determination is an obvious one enabling us to intervene in Quebec with the slogan "Vietnam aux vietnamiens, le Québec aux québécois."

The very logic of the movement gives it an anti-imperialist direction. Therefore, we need not and do not insist that it have the slogans "WITHDRAW U.S. TROOPS NOW" and "END CANADIAN COMPLICITY" before we enter, build and try to lead it. We do not insist on the right to put forward our own viewpoint, to distribute and sell our literature, to carry our slogans.

Agreeing on the necessity to struggle against the war we unite on the basis of common actions without having decided on a specific method of ending the war.

### **Alternate Programs for the Anti-War Movement**

Some of our opponents present alternative strategies for the anti-war movement, which tend to blunt its anti-imperialist thrust, or block the possibilities of building it as a mass movement.

The CP (*Communist Party*) has moved in some areas to build youth committees to “aid Vietnam.” These committees claim to be apolitical, to take no stand in the war, and underline this by giving 10% of the funds they collect to Saigon.

We have been the loudest proponents of effective aid to Vietnam from those equipped to give it – the workers states. Where practical, the organization of material and medical aid to the Vietnamese revolution can be a valuable aspect of the anti-war struggle. But there is a considerable amount of difference between organizing massive aid to the revolution and the pacifist and tokenist aid of these committees – which do not even take a stand on U.S. aggression, and take no position on the war. In reality, such committees are substitutes for the anti-war movement, which divert the movement away from the task of the strongest and broadest political opposition to Canadian complicity and pressure for immediate withdrawal.

SUPA and some others would see the anti-war movement become an underground railway for American draft dodgers. As revolutionaries our position on the capitalist draft is clear — we are opposed to it. Our comrades in the U.S. do not believe, however, that an anti-draft campaign is a valuable action for the anti-war movement. On draft-dodging their position is firm: the anti-war activist can be much more useful going into the imperialist army along with his generation, than fleeing the country and the struggle. The flight of opponents of the war to Canada will not destroy the imperialist army: rather it will rid the war machine of some of its most dangerous opponents. We are opposed to aid to the draft dodgers as an activity of the anti-war movement. Such aid leads the movement away from political opposition to the war towards futile social work, and is often proposed as a substitute for clear opposition to the war (this has been the case with several liberal-oriented student councils.)

Draft dodgers in Canada who ask our advice will get it — they should return to the U.S. Those who do not, we will attempt to integrate into the Canadian anti-war movement.

SAEWV (*the student anti-war committee federation –ed.*) has a section on draft dodgers, saying it will help conscientious objectors to settle in Canada if they so wish. This concept has some support in the movement. We must explain and discuss our position patiently — but our position is clear: SAEWV must not support underground railways, and the program should be changed.

Multi-issuism has been advocated by a variety of tendencies (SUPA, PWM, etc.) who do not see the anti-imperialist potential of the anti-war movement. We agree that a multi-issue movement is necessary, that is, the long run war cannot be stopped without a revolutionary

reconstruction of society. We have such a movement — the Young Socialists. We do our best to win CEWV (*high school anti-war*) members to us, as do SUPA; the CP, etc. But the CEWVs were formed with the explicit purpose of uniting the largest number of people of divergent viewpoints in opposition to the war, and this is the basis of the single-issue nature of the movement. We are completely opposed to anyone trying to impose a multi-issue program on the movement.

Some further clarification is necessary, for some comrades have seen in the move of the American anti-war movement to encompass the civil rights movement a move away from the single issue approach. Indeed this broadening of the movement does bring in new elements who have their own slogans — “Freedom now, Withdraw Now” — but they are united to fight against the war. It is not the task of the anti-war movement to fight the struggle for Afro-American freedom — though it is the task of those who see the relationship to try to convince people that they must fight for both. Similarly with slogans about inflation, nationalism, etc.

### **The Organizational Character of the Movement**

The anti-war movement in Canada has been primarily built-up from single issue Vietnam committees formed in the past two years. This is particularly the case in the youth arena. The strength of these independent committees has largely determined the course of the whole movement. However, we have worked to form co-ordinating bodies like the TCCEWV, uniting all-groups, single or multi-issue, opposed to the war.

With the abstention from the movement of the mass organizations, the independent committees have become, by far, the most important sector of the anti-war movement at this time. They provide the forces and the workers for the movement — they are the only method of consolidating the movement's gains. They are the basis of our strength in the movement and give a good deal of bargaining power in united fronts.

Our activity in the independent committees contrasts sharply with the approach of our opponents, primarily the Stalinists. We seek to build genuine committees with a life of their own, open to all varieties of anti-war opinion. We work to form, with other groups opposed to the war, a united front against the war. These united fronts are viable only on the basis of specific action oriented protests aimed at ending the war and Canada's complicity in it. We work to bring all elements, such as the Quebec nationalists and the trade union movement, into the united front and involve them in action. We do this both to create the broadest largest possible movement and to reach the rank and file of other movements.

### **THE STUDENT ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT**

The most important and viable area for anti-war work at the present time is in the student milieu — high school and university. YSers and LJSers have every reason to feel proud of the role they have played building the student movement against the war. It is our comrades who have built SAWV into an active, important organization which has mobilized large numbers of

high school youth both from other tendencies and from among uncommitted high school students. On the universities our role has been no less important. At the present time there are committees functioning on almost every major campus west of Montreal, as a direct result of our work.

During the school year 1965-66, the only university committee was the UBC Vietnam Day Committee, initiated and led by our comrades. Recognizing the potential of the student anti-war movement, the YS moved to change this in 1966-67. During the summer, the University of Toronto CEWV was formed under our leadership. It issued the call for the Canadian Student Days of Protest, and began publishing the Progress Bulletins, which co-ordinated the activities of the committees which sprang up across the country,

Geographically if not numerically, the Student Days of Protest were a great success, launching in fact the Canadian Student anti-war movement. Many new committees began to come out of isolation and feel themselves part of a broader movement. The ability of the U of T Committee, quite narrow itself, to call country-wide actions and have its leadership go unquestioned was an indication of the correctness of our line – but also of the narrowness of the movement. Other organizations such as SUPA, NDY, the CP, felt that they could ignore the student committees.

The next step forward was the federation of the student committees into SAEWV. The Student Association gives isolated committees a real perspective of the united struggle to end the war and end Canadian complicity. It enables the movement to draw the programmatic lessons of its past experience and collectively make plans for future activities. It provides a continuity and a central leadership to tide the movement over the inevitable ups and downs of the individual committees, and to move out to organize new committees and extend the movement.

It is extremely important that the YS/LJS recognize the importance of SAEWV, and devote the forces and the energy necessary to make it fulfill its promise. Every CEWV, high school and university, must be affiliated to SAEWV. Committees must send in regular reports of their activities to SAEWV and circulate the SAEWV Bulletin to their members. The SAEWV Working Committee, must become a functioning body, acting as a coordinating point for the student anti-war movement circulating and producing literature, buttons, etc., and coordinating country-wide actions. It will be necessary to hold other country-wide actions, probably in conjunction with off-campus groups, and preferably in solidarity with actions of the American movement. The next immediate goal of SAEWV must be the maximum mobilization for October 21, the next day of protest of the U.S. movement, which has declared it a day for international demonstrations.

SAEWV must be a broad federation of committees of differing programs, containing all the political forces committed to building a student anti-war movement. This requires a considerable flexibility in the operation of SAEWV. With the increasing strength of the movement, forces which have hitherto abstained will likely move in, and challenge our program and our leadership. The discussion initiated in the Progress Bulletin by Jim Mayor is a foretaste of this. We must be prepared for these debates, prepared to defend our leadership both on the grounds of our program



and our active commitment to the movement. At the same time, the leaderships of SAEWV and the individual committees must flexibly encompass the main political forces in the movement.

While SAEWV was initially formed exclusively by single-issue committees, there is no reason why multi-issue groups like SUPA could not affiliate if they desired – each affiliated group being given the rights of a single committee. While none of the multi-issue groups other than ourselves presently support SAEWV, this may change with its growth. The YS should not attempt to affiliate until other multi-issue organizations are ready to make the move.

## **STUDENTS AGAINST THE WAR IN VIETNAM**

The experience of SAEWV in Toronto has shown the potential for independent high school anti-war organizations. Every time SAEWV has stepped out boldly in holding its own public actions it has received an excellent response from high school students. Toronto SAWV now has over 50 members, and a mailing list of 250.

A high school student's life is centered primarily around his school, and he can most easily be brought into political action through a high school organization, rooted in his own school. SAWV groups are most easily organized on a city-wide basis. But the way to broaden SAWV is to move into organization in individual high schools. While remaining basically a single-issue committee SAWV must relate Vietnam to the high school situation, as the Ontario "teach-in" project has done. SAWV must be ready to fight for the right of free speech and free organization on Vietnam in the high schools.

*Dissent* has played a major role in the building of the high school anti-war movement, in Toronto. We must now expand *Dissent* into a Canada-wide publication, particularly by involving students from other areas in writing for it. We must move out to form SAWV groups across the country, whether or not we have high school comrades in the area. Our high schoolers must give SAWV work a real priority, in their activity.

## **THE CANADA-VIETNAM NEWSLETTER**

The *CVN* was created on our initiative, and we remain its foremost supporters and builder. It has a very broad appeal, and is clearly established as "The Voice of the Canadian Anti-Vietnam War Movement." Its principled call for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops and an end to Canadian complicity has of course meant that the CP and their liberal-pacifist allies have not supported it.

One of our major tasks in the anti-war movement is building the *CVN* – writing for it, circulating it, selling subscriptions. It should be a matter of course for every committee to have a bundle order to *CVN*. In the anti-war movement where we strive to make known the truth about the war to as wide an audience as possible, building the movement's publications, and particularly the *CVN*, assumes a very important role in our work.

## THE WAR CRIMES TRIBUNAL

Few major international anti-war actions have the appeal to potential anti-war activists or the terror for the bourgeoisie of the International War Crimes Tribunal initiated by Bertrand Russell. The fear they have for the Tribunal can be seen from their efforts to bar the action from France, and the massive assaults launched on it by sectors of the bourgeois press — including the *New York Times*, *Look*, and of course *Time*.

We can utilize the War Crimes Tribunal findings to build the anti-war movement and publicizing the Tribunal itself can be an important part of the activity of committees. It can be expected that the Tribunal will play an increasingly important role in our anti-war work in the next period.

## THE COMMUNITY COMMITTEES

While their scope for action and growth is somewhat more limited than the student committees at present, the off-campus CEWVs are playing an important role in the movement. Those of our comrades who are not students must join and work to build the CEWVs to the best of their ability. In general, work in the community committees is the responsibility of the LSA, and should generally be directed through joint YS-LSA fractions and/or committees. Comrades operating in these CEWVs operate under the leadership of these bodies, and have a duty to participate in them.

As the anti-war movement grows, there may be scope for the development of youth CEWVs, involving only young workers, but at this time this would be an artificial division, cutting the community committees off from their lifeblood. We should look for possibilities for campus committees to hold broader actions aimed at attracting non-students.

—May 31, 1967

## **OUR UNIVERSITY WORK**

Submitted by the YS National Executive Committee  
YS/LJS Discussion Bulletin Vol. 3 No. 7 – June 1967

Canadian universities are now in the early stages of a dramatic period of growth. Over the past seven years enrollment in Canadian universities has doubled and over the next seven they are projected to more than double again. In 1955 there were 29 universities in all of Canada with over 200 students enrolled. In 1964 there were 57 universities which fell into this category. While the past growth has been relatively great, projections for the future are even greater. Not only will expansion continue, but at an increasing rate.

The same story can be related for technical schools. Thus Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto is planning to double day enrollment over the next two years and the night school will triple enrollment to accommodate 25,000 over the same period.

This expansion means that the composition of the student body will be less and less elitist. While it means that many more students from working class homes will enter the universities, the growth of the universities will not keep pace with the growing desire among students from all levels of society to get a university education in an increasingly scientific and technological age. Further, the tremendous growth of the universities will not stop the bourgeoisie from attempting to maintain the stratified and rarefied character of university education. This brings tremendous alienating pressures on students, especially those from working class homes. The combination of mass impersonal education in the overfilled class rooms and the burgeoning multi-iversity administrative bureaucracies will act as increasingly powerful sources of alienation among the students. Students seem increasingly disenchanted with the prospects offered them by big business after graduation. Thus we can expect to see an increasing number of student protests on student issues in the next period. While campuses have traditionally been utilized by the bourgeoisie to integrate the most talented youth into the service of the ruling class, the impact of the university on the student over the next years will begin to push the student strongly in the other direction, the direction of opposition to the system, the direction of revolt.

### **Signs of Student Radicalization**

In the present period the campuses are a more acute reflection of the general situation in youth politics as outlined in the Political Resolution. If the vacuum on the left is true for the youth arena as a whole, it is equally true for the campus. Since the last convention we have seen the complete demise of the NDY on campus as an organization, and the exodus of the old right wing social democratic leadership of the campus NDYers into the student bureaucracy. (Almost the whole secretariat of CUS is now composed of NDYers.) SUPA flowered on campus shortly after its founding. But today its community projects have come to naught, it has been bypassed by the most dynamic campus issue, Vietnam, and its participation in student politics has led in the main only to its integration into the bureaucracy. As a campus organization, SUPA is in utter shambles. The CP (*Communist Party*) has built no organization on the campus and has in fact buried their strongest elements in the student bureaucracy. Radicals of all tendencies have failed to produce independent radical organizational forms through which student radicalism can flow. In this sense there is a very acute vacuum on the left on the campus.

In spite of all this a small but viable anti-war movement was established on the campuses over the past year and it has the perspective of considerable growth. Now also we can see the first faltering steps of a new wave of protest on student issues. We can see a well-defined growth in the number of demonstrations, rallies boycotts, marches, and sit-ins on Canadian campuses. In B.C., Victoria, University of BC and SFU (*Simon Fraser U.*) have all experienced student "uprisings" of one sort or another. In Ontario, ORCUS, the Ontario section of CUS, organized a province-wide protest against the provincial government's student aid plan. These actions drew 3000 at U of T, 1500 at Ryerson, and 1000 from the Ottawa campuses. At Waterloo SCM-SUPA forces led a successful sit-in involving a couple of hundred students in opposition to the scandalous profits of the campus bookstore, and they won. At UWO the student council has been actively campaigning for student reps on the Boards of Governors, and have succeeded in bringing a bill to that effect before the Provincial Legislature. Even U of Toronto was affected: when the *Varsity* and a group of militant women students carried on a well publicized and controversial campaign to integrate the all-male facilities at Hart House.

Last year a comrade running for Vice Presidency of the students council at York U. on a program of students rights received 40% of the vote. In SFU recently a comrade has been elected to a high position on the students council as part of a radical slate including SUPA elements, on a program of opposition to the Vietnam war and of student power. Of course we have no intention of burying our comrades in the student bureaucracy. But this victory in BC shows the direction in which we must head, and the possibilities that exist for us.

This growth in student protest activities is not unconnected to the marked increase in interest among students in the broader issues, and in socialism. Tours by Stokely Carmichael (*US Black Power activist—ed.*) and George Novack (*leading US-SWP Trotskyist author—ed.*) drew record audiences. The dissatisfaction and rebellious spirit shown in protests over basic student issues like fees or bookstore prices, if it is not quelled by the administration, soon spills over to other issues. The fees protestor may soon join the CEWV (*student anti-war group*); the student rebel becomes a radical.

Any doubts about an increase in student radicalism over the past two years evaporate when the record above is compared to the feeble response which the Committees to Oppose the Fee Increase met in the summer and fall of 1964 or the almost as insipid reaction to the UNAC (universal accessibility) protest organized by the student bureaucracy two years ago.

The protests we have seen develop over the past two years have been initiated in the main by the official student bureaucracy. But they have found a response to a greater and greater extent in the student body. To this point the protest has not originated from the students themselves. This feature, while showing the primitive stage of the movement now, must not be mistaken as a more or less permanent feature of student radicalization. On the contrary, the fact that officially sponsored actions have met a response among the students (and only two years ago they didn't) verifies our conclusion that as the university community becomes less elitist in its composition and more factory-like in its atmosphere the forces of alienation and privation will result in an increasing number of student outbursts. Nor can the present student bureaucracy hope to contain the student movement as it broadens and deepens. The student bureaucracy in Canada is a very frail creature. Unlike the bureaucracies we meet in the trade unions and the NDP, the student

bureaucracy has little experience with mass actions, little tradition or roots in the student body. In fact the very change in the social composition of the student body serves to make the present student leadership's position an extremely unstable one. In all likelihood the students will move past the present leadership and begin to thrust forward their own spokesmen, tried in the struggle.

### **Our Breakthrough on Campus**

The 1965 convention marked the major turn in our campus work. After several years of frustration, particularly in Toronto, during which we had tended to write off the campus as a hopeless area, the 1965 document projected the possibilities for us on campus, and firmly oriented the movement towards work in this area, and particularly to establishing us as the spokesmen for socialism on campus.

Since then, there has been a rapid increase in our forces on campus, and a genuine breakthrough in campus recruitment across the country. The Novack tour's success revealed the extent to which we had become the *spokesmen* for socialism in the universities. The socialist clubs have achieved their purpose of giving revolutionary socialism a platform of its own on campus. After years of never using our literature on campus, we have begun to circulate it, and have found that it circulates very successfully (though our work in this field has been uneven and sporadic). We have built the anti-war movement after a long political struggle with our opponents, and have found in it a viable and most fruitful area of work. We have drawn campus contacts to YSF functions in good numbers.

### **A " Negative" Campus Orientation?**

But there was a serious weakness in the 1965 document, which has been reflected in many aspects of our work. The document tends in places to present 'the campus as a hostile arena, and presents us as outsiders, raiders in fact, trying to win individuals to the proletarian movement.

On the whole, universities present a hostile class atmosphere where radical tendencies are contained within bureaucratized ivory-tower left-wing organizations and in sterile academic debates. It is extremely difficult to develop this vague liberalism and pacifism we find on the campus left into a revolutionary understanding of society and commitment to the working class. Yet students have an important role to play in the construction of the proletarian vanguard. A significant minority are not absorbed and integrated into the academic and bourgeois world, and can be won over to the revolutionary movement."

" Our aim is to win university students out of the campus environment to the revolutionary proletarian vanguard. " (emphasis added)

We all recognize that the university is a bourgeois institution, and that the university administration is directly controlled by the ruling class in its own interest. The administration and faculty are normally able to impress their ideology on the majority of the students today. But the students are impelled, by powerful forces, in the long run to come into conflict with the administration, with the university itself. While our campus work must begin by pulling out individuals, its long range goal must be to build a mass student socialist movement, to win the



majority of students to the side of the socialist forces. And far from ripping the socialist students out of the campus into the proletarian movement, our task is to build a student-oriented youth movement that is integrated in the student milieu, and can win broad support among students, while itself serving as their bridge to the adult, proletarian revolutionary organization.

This weakness in the document has been reflected in our work. As comrade Frazer states in her YSF Notes, we are still "outsiders" in the campus. This is often reflected in the hesitation of comrades to identify themselves by selling our literature. It is reflected even more in the literature itself: YSF (Young Socialist Forum) has never carried an article discussing the universities, university programs, or presenting a university program. The 1965 document correctly advised us, bearing in mind the low political level of student struggles to approach them with caution. We have gone further, we have rejected them in practice as a valuable area for us to make contacts, and build our campus movement.

## **OUR APPROACH TO THE STUDENT STRUGGLES**

Our movement must begin to intervene more seriously in these protest actions involving student issues. First we must begin to give university questions an important place in our propaganda. YSF should carry articles reporting on the direction and scope of student protests and far more important presenting our analysis of the crisis of bourgeois education and our program for the universities. The Socialist Clubs must look for opportunities to present these ideas in the most timely way. We should concentrate on the following basic campus program.

1. Immediate elimination of tuition fees. Living allowances for all students. Open the doors of the universities to men and women of all classes and all ages.
2. An end to the big business control of the universities. Big business off the boards. An end to the use of university facilities for business-sponsored research. Place on the boards representatives of the workers who built this society and whose children must now receive the benefits of the higher education which their labor has made possible.
3. Student control of the universities. Majority student representation on all decision-making bodies. Faculty representation on the Boards and the Senates.
4. Public ownership of the universities. Full autonomy of the universities from the state.
5. Complete freedom of expression and of organization for all students in the universities. The right of students to use all university facilities to organize and make their views heard.. A free student press.
6. Student councils must lead the students in the broader struggles for social equality and justice. Official student support for the anti-war movement. Student unions must link up with and support the struggles of the labor movement for social justice.

The major emphasis in our campus work will remain our open work and anti - war work the building of the CEWVs. But throughout our work, we must adopt a new orientation to the

students' struggles now emerging, to integrate ourselves into student political life. Specifically, the campus CEWVs should be university oriented, searching for opportunities to point out the complicity of the university establishments' war research, academic white-washing of the war, how B of G (university board of governors) members are war profiteers and searching for opportunities to campaign on these issues.

We must no longer ignore the possibilities which students council elections offer for us to popularize our socialist program. Where possible, we should run Socialist Club leaders for the highest posts. For the CEWV to run an official candidate would weaken the single-issue character of the CEWVs and raise the danger of their activists being drawn into the less political areas of student politics. But conditions will arise where we will run in conjunction with non-comrades on a slate, or where we will support an independent or run a YSer or LJSer as other than an official YS or LJS candidate. We do not do this to form cohesive student political parties and take over the university. The road ahead lies through rank-and-file movements, not student council manipulations. When we participate in a slate, it must be on the basis of a united front, where we retain full independence of action. Will comrades be elected to leading posts? It can happen and already has happened in SFU. We may even form part of a left wing majority "government" on a Council. Such a situation poses great opportunities, but also serious problems, and puts the comrades concerned under considerable pressure: councils tend to be to the left of the student body, and usually substitute their own machinations for genuine rank-and-file militancy. We would sit on a council or take a post, only in order to use the position to popularize our program and promote the genuine radicalization of the students.

## **OUR OPEN WORK ON CAMPUS**

The launching of our open movement will afford us much greater possibilities to extend our influence on campus, and to attract campus contacts to the movement. The open activities of the movement should be oriented, in part, to the campus. But we are not burying ourselves in the student milieu; we are integrating ourselves in it as socialists, to attract radical-minded students to the movement.

We are the only radical tendency in the campus arena which openly proclaims itself socialist and argues for the socialist position. We must exploit this situation to the full. The success of George Novack's tour last fall warrants one of a similar character, and much more work in this area.

The most important vehicle for the utilization of our dominant position as socialists on the campus is the Socialist Clubs. We have had a variety of experiences with the Socialist Clubs. The most useful to us have proven to be Socialist Clubs which openly link themselves with YSF, and whose members are YS members. With the launching of the open movement we can make this relationship more explicit. The Socialist Clubs should change their names to "Young Socialists" or "Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes", and should consist of the campus fractions. We should work to recruit to them, making it clear that joining a YS or LJS club on campus means joining the broader off-campus movement. (Such ties are sometimes prohibited by university regulations, but we can evade these regulations in practice, just as SUPA and the NDY have done.) YS clubs and campus LJS's should do propagandists work through educational meetings, election campaigns, writing for the student press, etc. Literature sales, especially YSF, ISR, and La Lutte (Ouvriere), deserve special and consistent attention.

The difficulties of campus work require the entire movement to undertake a certain amount of responsibility for the campus activities. Contact work around forums, bringing contacts to local headquarters for lunch and discussion, would help in doing this. Campus fractions should function on a regular basis in unison with local executives. This usually means a division of labour on the fraction corresponding to that in the leadership of the local.

In the past two years we have laid the groundwork which we must now utilize and expand to add massively to our campus forces.

VOL 3  
NO 7

JUNE  
1967

# Discussion Bulletin



## CONTENTS :

(c) 0 &

DRAFT CAMPUS RESOLUTION

Submitted by the National Executive Committee

(5pp)

VOL 3  
NO 8

A. H. Weisfield

19  
JUNE  
1967

# Discussion Bulletin



## CONTENTS :

1. In Reply to the Joint Document - G. Pedersen
2. On the Forums - P. Ruby
3. Towards an overview of Our Work - I. Lynne
4. A Contribution to the Discussion of the Draft Political Resolution - J. Frazer
5. Notes on the Draft Anti-War Resolution - J. Current
6. Draft Constitutional Amendments - Submitted by the NEC



## IN REPLY TO THE JOINT DOCUMENT

The joint document of Cawfield, Cook, Lynn and Stetson called The Political and the Forum Debate must be seen as an important critique of the Political Resolution submitted by the NEC. The document is composed of many elements. It includes overhasty generalizations about the direction of the Toronto Local Executive, based for the most part on inaccurate quotations, restatements of the familiar basic positions of the movement on a number of questions which the authors felt were dealt with inadequately in the Political Resolution, and some discussion on the interrelationship of our forum perspectives with other aspects of our work.

But the most important aspect of the document is its substantive criticism of the Political Resolution and the line projected by its defenders. It is this aspect of the document that I would like to take up here. In the way of substantive criticisms, there are four main questions posed by the Joint Document. They are:

1. The purpose of the YS-LJS in distinction from the LSA-LSO; i.e., the purpose of a Trotskyist youth movement in Canada in this period.
2. The nature of youth radicalism and the character of the process of youth radicalization at the present time, and where that radicalization is headed.
3. The nature and direction of our open work in the above milieu.
4. The overall character of our work in this transitional period in an advanced capitalist country.

### WHY A YOUTH MOVEMENT

That this question arises in our discussion is quite appropriate. The character and direction of all our work flows from our concept of our youth movement and we must have a clear view on the question before we can proceed. The authors of the Joint Document say of the Political Resolution - "On the purpose of the youth movement the Political Resolution is vague and incomplete", and raise the question whether or not the majority of the NEC considers the youth "is primarily a sifting process, a personnel reserve... a funnel for the LSA-LSO". The Joint Document is annoyingly vague and evasive on this question, but it raises serious criticisms against the supporters of the Political Resolution in its present form when it says:

"When we say that the youth movement's fundamental task is the building of the vanguard party, it is important not to approach this simplistically. That is, we should not view the youth movement as primarily a personnel reserve for the LSA-LSO. We believe that there is a tendency in this direction among some leading comrades, particularly on the Toronto Local Executive."

It is the obligation of comrades in making such statements to substantiate them, to show how the tendency is revealed in practice.

What exactly is wrong with league-youth relations in Toronto?

Actually the Political Resolution is very clear about the purpose of the youth as are previous documents, especially the constitution of the YS which states, of the YS, "Its purpose is to educate youth in the program of revolutionary Marxism and enlist the youth of our society in the struggle to build a vanguard party capable of leading to the liquidation of capitalism and the establishment of the basis for socialism -- a workers state." While it is not required or even usual that we restate in each discussion all the points from previous discussions which are still valid, in fact, the political resolution does deal with the question. I remind the authors of the joint document of the statement in the political resolution "We are a Trotskyist youth movement and we openly declare our fundamental agreement with the program and principles of the LSA-LSO. We are no passive appendage of the League. We are an organizationally autonomous part of the revolutionary movement, governed by the principles of democratic centralism. To carry out our long range task of building the

Canadian section, we undertake a whole range of independent youth actions, aimed at drawing youth directly to ourselves, putting forward our youth program."

Our fundamental task then is to build the vanguard party. This party exists today in embryonic form in the LSA-LSO. To build the vanguard party today means to build the LSA-LSO. This does not mean that we see the youth as a recruiting station for the Party and nothing more. The above quote from the Political resolution speaks to the contrary. It seems strange that the Joint Document raises the criticism that the political resolution does not see the qualitatively different character of the youth movement when previous to that the document raps the knuckles of the political resolution for giving an inordinate emphasis to the features of youth radicalization. The point is that the political resolution does see the independent character of the youth movement. The political resolution describes at length and in anything but vague terms, the peculiar problems of youth, problems qualitatively different from those of adult workers, problems which establish the need for a separate youth organization. The political resolution goes on to project independent youth actions and a youth program. No youth program was included in the political resolution but the NEC is preparing a draft which will be laid before the convention.

We are building a youth movement which makes its own decisions and develops its own leadership in the struggle, struggle rooted in the real problems of youth, struggle consciously oriented to win youth to the program of Marxism and to support for the LSA-LSO. That is clear, and it is the line of the political resolution and of the fundamental documents of the YS.

#### ONCE AGAIN ON THE NATURE OF YOUTH RADICALISM

On reading the joint document one finds a strange contradiction. On the one hand the document places particular stress on the qualitatively different character of the youth movement. On the other hand the document criticises the political resolution for placing too much stress on the particular question, the youth questions, that give the YS-LSJ this qualitatively different character.

The statement in the joint document that: "The tendency of the Toronto Local Executive is to make them (youth questions) our primary, if not sole, concern," and further, the wild statement that: "The overriding emphasis in the section on the nature of youth radicalism (in the political resolution), combined with the de-emphasis on socialism in Toronto's youth forums, implies that politics is secondary," betrays a deep misunderstanding of the processes of youth radicalization.

The joint document states baldly, "that political struggles, especially world politics have always been the key factor in bringing new layers of youth into radical politics." (Emphasis in original) It is certainly true that world political issues usually play the key role in youth radicalization, shown (as the political resolution explicitly states) by the way Vietnam has become the central issue for young radicals today. But to talk of world politics "always" being the "key factor" ignores the real question -- what is the interrelationship between world political issues and the peculiar problems and questions that face youth?

There exists in the joint document a grave confusion of the objective and subjective factors of youth radicalism. It is quite true that no serious analysis of the objective situation which faces Canadian youth can fail to begin in the international arena, the arena of the colossal struggle between socialism and imperialism. It is only by starting on this plane that the nature and tasks of Canadian capitalism can be analysed. Not until this analysis is carried out, can any sense be made of the harsh oppression of youth in Canadian society. The relationship between international forces defining the role of the ruling class in a given capitalist country and the resulting oppression by that class, of youth, is illustrated clearly in the U.S. where the international balance of

forces has made the U.S. the imperialist policeman of the world with the result that American youth are faced with the draft. More generally, the declining position of imperialism around the globe draws all capitalist countries, including Canada inexorably into the vortex. For example, the world is now faced with the concrete threat of world war three, and the colonial revolutions have a big impact. Compare the situations now with the 1950's when Stalin was the only visible radical force and the only revolutions were the supposedly anti-communist ones in Eastern Europe. The glaring contradictions between the words and deeds of imperialism become increasingly obvious to youth because of the oppression, the brutal reality of the prison-like schools and the bourgeois family system. This awakening of large numbers of youth is hastened by the harsher and harsher attempts of the ruling class to ram its ideology down the throats of youth -- to indoctrinate youth to support it in this great world conflict, all in the short space of time available before these youth leave school whereupon they must fit into the labor force and insofar as possible be made to accept it. Thus while the oppression of youth does indeed spring from international forces and any serious analysis of this oppression must therefore begin at the international level, but while the world outlook sets the stage and provides the big political issues for youth radicalization, the specific form and character of this radicalization (as the PR says), and a large number of the specific issues involved in it, are determined by the position of youth in our society and the specific character of their oppression. Youth run up against the oppression of school and family first, just as the worker sees the exploitation in his factory before he sees that the task of the world working class is socialist revolution. These peculiar problems and their result, the so-called "rebellion of modern youth" are the basic elements of the subjective factor of youth radicalism. This low level opposition of youth to the family or the school system is not radicalism. Rather it is the stuff from which radicals are made. With this level of understanding already extant among youth, it is possible for them to generalize, when they meet the radical movement, to the more profound and general questions of the world struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Therefore the YS-LJS must deal with both youth problems and world issues. We must take up youth issues because they represent the present level of youth's consciousness, the level upon which we can win a wide audience, and further because these questions will remain vital to youth over the long run and we must pose their solution. We must also continue to carry our work around current world issues like Vietnam that will make radicals of these rebels and develop radicals into revolutionaries. In the past the YS-LJS has largely ignored youth issues. They have been taken up somewhat only during the past few months in very uneven and sporadic fashion. The political resolution, contrary to the charge in the joint document, does not deal with "the influence of Vietnam on youth radicalism" as an "afterthought ... inserted on top of an existing line..." (emphasis in original). The political resolution goes on to show how opposition to the war leads young people to question other social problems. Further, the whole introduction to the document lays very heavy emphasis on Vietnam as the central political question in the world today: "a test of radical forces around the world."

It is true, however, and correctly so that a weighty portion of the document revolves around youth issues, just because these questions taken broadly give the YS-LJS its distinctive character. Our movement, by and large, understands the importance of the war in Vietnam and accordingly contributes a huge proportion of its energy to the fight against the war, and to winning youth opposed to the war to the YS-LJS. Thus the political resolution presents the line and direction on this question and then moves on to youth questions. Here for the first time, a major document of our movement in Canada takes up this question and projects a strong turn in a new direction for us. The balance of the political resolution is essentially correct. While it characterizes the war in Vietnam as the central force in the radicalization of youth, it presents



an analysis as well of the interrelationship of this world issue with the peculiar problems of youth and properly deals most exhaustively with the new direction for our movement which the document proposes.

#### ARE WE HEADED TOWARD BROAD YOUTH RADICALIZATION?

Where is this rebellion of youth headed? The joint document tells us:

"In the absence of an overall perspective and leadership, and without widespread working class radicalism, there will probably be no upsurge of youth radicalism on a mass or semi-mass scale in the next period." Thus the joint document is quite clear on the subject, but again it is dead wrong. This formulation totally misconstrues the nature of youth radicalism -- which does not wait on the working class, but which advances at its own pace and in its own direction. That is the major reason for the necessity of a separate revolutionary youth organization, an organization which keeps the pace of youth and does not wait on the heavy battalions of labor.

Will youth radicalism increase or decrease in its depth and scope? The answer lies in the nature of the bourgeois system in which youth problems are based. Canadian capitalism is inextricably intertwined with world capitalism and it necessarily shares the fate of world capitalism. Capitalism is in an irrevocable crisis which can only deepen making capitalism more desperate on all fronts. As the contradiction of capitalism becomes increasingly stark, they will have to try harder and harder to bludgeon their ideology into youth and the character of education and the family will become harsher and more brutal. As young people see ever more clearly the hypocrisy and brutality imposed on them, then opposition to the system expressing itself both in terms of the number of youth involved in protests of one form or another, and the depth of their protest will increase. While I do not think it is fruitful to get into a debate over how many youth constitute mass or semi mass radicalization, I think we can project the real possibility that very large numbers of youth, numbers much broader than have been involved in the radical youth arena in the past including the NDY will be radicalized.

Lenin pointed out that each generation comes to socialism on its own road, around its own problems. Youth have illustrated time and time again that they do not wait for the adults to provide the leadership. Quite the contrary, we have specific examples from around the world. For instance, in the U.S. today there is no adult leadership of any magnitude, nor is the working class in motion. Yet we see a radicalization among the youth nonetheless. Witness the overwhelmingly youth based April 15th demonstration. True, the radicalization is taking, at the present time, strange new left forms, BUT IT'S THERE. We know too that the radical and revolutionary youth organizations in Europe are experiencing rapid growth.

Thus the prognosis of the joint document set forth in the above quote is based on a serious misconception, a mechanical understanding of the relationship between radicalization in youth and radicalization in the working class. Fortunately Canada will not escape this radicalization among the youth. Our task is to prepare, to be ready for that eventuality, to begin now to broaden and deepen our connections with youth here in Canada.

#### OVERALL CHARACTER OF OUR WORK

Taking up the question of mass work in this period for the YS, the joint document states:

"Surely to pose that our movement undertake to create mass radicalization on a mass or broad scale is absurd, particularly in the absence of a viable milieu! To pose our task as 'attracting the broadest range of young people

to radical ideas' is to thrust our movement into adventures for which we nor 'the broadest range of young people' are prepared. We cannot do mass work without a mass audience.

"We are engaged in the hard long term task of building a movement, one person at a time."

What does a turn in this direction mean? Does it mean mass work in the sense of agitation work aimed at leading masses of youth in struggle? In what sense is the projection of the political resolution mass work?

First, we must understand the nature of this transitional period. This is a period when objective conditions are ripe for socialist revolution but the oppressed workers and peasants of the world lack leadership. Our task is to build that leadership, to temper it and to bridge the gap from the highly trained Marxist cadres to the mass of the workers and youth who will fill out the armies of the revolution. The task of building the leadership established the fact that the general character of our work is propagandistic or the dissemination of many ideas to the most advanced elements in the struggle to win them to our youth and to the Vanguard Party. But the job is a good deal more complex than that. Where do we meet these elements? Where do they receive their experience? How do we bridge the gap between the leadership and the masses? How do we win the respect and confidence of the masses we want to lead? Through mass forms of work. We move out at every opportunity to lead struggles NOW. We do not intend to wait, to sit back and develop the Party and Youth until we reach a magic percentage and then call for mass work. We would not meet recruitable elements not could we train them to lead anybody.

Simultaneously with the building of a leadership and as an important element in that very process, we have a transitional program designed for the struggles of the masses in this period, designed so that we can intervene in these struggles and help the masses to generalize their experiences and to raise demands which flow both from their present level of consciousness and the present objective conditions but which in the struggle for their realization raise the understanding of the masses and undermine the capitalist citadel. The transitional program was not designed for the enlightened few but rather as means for our direct intervention in the struggles of the masses at a time when we do not yet have the forces to lead the struggle for the destruction of this system and the establishment of a workers state. It aids the masses in preparation for that struggle, both by raising the mass consciousness and training the leadership. Thus we do engage in mass work and we do carry agitational campaigns in this period. Only by appealing to and leading the broadest layers can we win and train the few. Every chance we get to move out to the degree that our forces permit to bridge that gap. Now, in Canada, in youth circles, we are presented with an increasingly favorable situation to do just that. We must seize the opportunity and do it!

## CONCLUSION

It is not as if we had no precedents for this kind of orientation. Right here in Canada our own youth movement has already carried this kind of action. The election campaigns in Vancouver and Toronto, the high school work around political clubs and civil rights issues are examples that have already become a part of our tradition.

Thus aside from the misquotations, and some formal tions in the joint document which I have not bothered to take up, the document really adds very little to a clear understanding of the nature of our milieu and how we should approach it. The political resolution is no encyclopedia, and contains gaps which may have to be filled by additions after a full discussion. It certainly cannot be expected, like some holy scripture, to provide answers in advance to all the criticisms -- these will be worked out in the course of the discussion. If the



authors of the joint document found the presentation of the line of the document unclear, I hope I have helped to fill in some of the gaps. However, we are called upon to adopt the line of the political resolution. As far as the line is concerned there are four main criticisms in the joint document.

I have considered each of these points and can only conclude that the political resolution stands up extremely well under the fire of the joint document. In fact the elements of these main points, the concepts upon which they are based, are misguided and wrong.

## ON THE FORUMS

by Raby

There have been some very confusing things written about the Toronto local's forum program. From the direction of the discussion, it sounds as if this one local's forum program is the burning issue determining the activities of our whole movement in the next period. I don't think this is the case, but I would like to try to help clarify the question of the forums.

Along with a number of misquotations, half-quotations, and verbal quotations made in informal discussions by members of the Toronto local executive (and come "comrade Crandall" who snuck onto the executive without anyone noticing it.), the document by Caulfield, Cook, Lynne and Statson quotes an interesting passage from Cannon on the tragic error of the American Communist Party in 1923 when it tried to substitute itself for the masses. The writers of the document are kind enough to explain "Of course, the Toronto local executive's position is not comparable to that of the American CP in 1923 -- not in scope." I would like to say then, first of all, that I don't think that the Toronto local or its leadership is trying to bring about mass radicalization by a series of maneuvers nor do I think we project bloating the movement up to step into the vacuum and become the youth left. And I don't think that we are steering a course that leads to the liquidation of the politics of our movement.

What then are we doing in the Toronto local? I would say if it didn't sound pompous, that we stand on the record. The direction of our forum program is clear from the outline of events provided by Crandall in the Forum Debate document. It might be mentioned that in making up the list Crandall neglected to put in the Brecht Theatre Night we held on January 21. This addition to the lineup makes the direction even clearer. It is towards carrying "...a variety of activities: forums, socials and cultural events, designed to make us the center of discussion and socializing for young people interested in radical ideas." (Political Resolution page 7) The only major criticism I have of the Toronto forum program is that it has been too conservative -- has not searched hard enough for opportunities that might serve to broaden our connections with radicalizing youth. Of the whole spectrum of public activities our movement now carries in Toronto: Vanguard forums, YSF forums, socials, the Vanguard, YSF, league classes, youth classes and book of the month discussions, etc.; it is the youth forums and social activities that can be the broadest. They can reach out into broader circles for us, be the pole of attraction that brings young people into contact with the movement, and with all other aspects of the movement's work. While our forums will of course provide us with ample opportunity to express our political line, "giving the line" is not the main criterion we use in drawing up our forum program. The main criterion, once again, is given by the political resolution: making us the "center of discussion and socializing for young people interested in radical ideas."

I think it is a false picture of our forums to think they can be or should be self-contained in themselves; i.e. a person could get from the speech some sort of complete picture of what our movement is and what is its program. Particularly in Toronto where the league's activities are well established, and where there are no public activities of any other youth tendency, our youth forums can afford to be quite broad in their appeal.

There could be a danger in striving to be more popular that we might fail to present any aspect of our program in our youth external activities. But that is not the problem we face today. We face the danger that we will try to make our public activities a 100% reflection of the marxist-leninist bolshevik character of our movement. We should not delude ourselves that answering the political resolution's challenge to move out and take advantage of our opponents is an easy task.

We have to find ways to bridge the gap between the newly radicalizing youth and ourselves. And that isn't easy. We know that when we distribute a high school for a forum we might get 20 students interested but none to come. We can go back again and find the same thing happen. The gap between the ordinary high school student who doesn't like what is going on in the world and the revolutionary socialists is gigantic. It is because of this gap that we must present our program in a transitional way -- a way that will bridge the gap. We must deal with such questions as sex and the right of young people to be human beings. We shouldn't get bogged down in trying to show the relevance of everything to everything else and end up with no one listening. We have to look for ways to make ourselves more attractive to youth.

One way of making ourselves more attractive is with a lively forum program. We not only have to look for opportunities we have to do some experimenting. There is certainly no principle involved in having our own speakers and we should go out of the way to get other speakers. The biggest advantage in having opponents as speakers at forums is it makes us look broader than we are and thus enables people to come to the forums without feeling committed to us. Also, contrary to what the Camfield etc. document suggests, rather than de-emphasizing socialism, it makes people realize more easily what our ideas are all about when they see them in conflict with opposing ideologies.

We should also build our own speakers into effective speakers who will draw audiences primarily because of their reputations as speakers. We talk about putting more effort into our forums but as of yet we really don't know how to go about that. We think writing a letter to the speaker (as we did to Birney) is killing ourselves to build the forum.

The Toronto local executive has been accused of wanting to establish a "radical community center" at YSF House. It's true. We not only want it we are taking concrete steps towards establishing it (with quite successful results so far). Precisely because of the weakness of our opponents, because of this vacuum on the youth left, that we can make YSF activities very broad and still attract people to our movement. No other movement is coming to our hall to steal our contacts. The fact is radical youth have nowhere else to go. And giving YSF activities a broader character, in this way, tremendously facilitates the job of bringing down the contacts.

I don't think that whatever is true for the Toronto forums is necessarily true for forums in other areas where the situation is different (e.g. Ottawa where there is no League public face). Nor do I think what is true for the forums can be applied mechanically to all other areas of external work. But I do think the direction in the political resolution which determines our forum program must also be applied to the other areas of external work.

We must continually look for ways to make our ideas and our organization known and to bring ourselves in contact with more youth and thus more potential recruits. We are going to have to experiment and we shouldn't be afraid of striking out sometimes. For instance; last month the Toronto local decided to attempt an intervention in the Truscott Case and called a demonstration demanding the cabinet free Truscott. It was a good action but it met with almost no response from high school students although we distributed several high schools. We struck out that time, probably because we didn't come in on the issue until the tail end when the feeling was still there but no one felt you could do anything about it; but it was the kind of experimenting we should be doing. We should always keep our eyes open for chances to call demonstrations for things like defence of youth victimized by the police.



It is unfortunate there isn't a municipal election every year for us to carry a campaign in. But in between times we can do some of the things we did during the campaign -- such as soapboxing at high schools. In Toronto we could sell literature and buttons reading "Join the Young Socialists" in Yorkville. At the same time we could hold street meetings there which aside from bringing us in contact with a lot of youth and making our ideas known, would probably also get us a civil rights case.

We should intervene where we can in the whole hippie coffee house scene, especially with our literature -- openly declaring ourselves revolutionary socialists, the people with a real alternative to this rotten system. The YS and its publications must be oriented to intervening in issues and struggles concerning youth. We might lead a campaign to get the university health services to distribute birth control information and contraceptives freely (and free) to the students.

If possible during the federal and provincial election campaigns we should set our headquarters up as an election headquarters with the banner "Youth for an NDP Government", with the view to mobilizing youth in support of the NDP. It is logical that we should do this since we are the only viable youth group that supports the NDP.

We have a chance in Toronto now to set up a drama group. I think this type of thing is excellent for us to do. The workshop can function out of our headquarters but not necessarily be directly associated with the YS or YSF. It enables us to draw around us people we otherwise wouldn't attract -- it helps in the building of our radical community center.

We should look for opportunities to get into dialogues with our political opponents with the view to talking to youth, not necessarily in their organizations but attracted by their ideas in the struggle. We want this dialogue not so much to get to the rank and file of these organizations as to create the atmosphere of a real forum, and spotlight and make vivid our program by contrasting it to those of our opponents. We can do this in the forums and by publishing short statements and pamphlets designed to meet the specific circumstances and issues.

We should make the movement more accessible to contacts by having a policy of allowing contacts to attend a local meeting if we think it will draw them closer to recruitment and by not having so much of an attitude that we are a closed group. We should tell young people that if they want a better world they have to join us and then bug them to do so. We should recruit like mad and be prepared to recruit even groups of contacts.

We can create a dynamism about us that makes us attractive even on a strictly social level. We're the people to be with; we're on the go; we're the YS generation. To make this even clearer, we should do things like publishing our own song -- a YS song book with youth oriented songs, most of which we will have to write ourselves. We have already seen how even some girl guides can get swept away in the enthusiasm of "Burn Baby Burn".

In answer to the Cawfield etc. document I would definitely say we are interested in attracting youth just "interested in radical ideas". But we must realize that it not an easy task and we should start using our imagination to think of ways to do it.

## TOWARDS AN OVERVIEW OF OUR WORK

By I. Lynne

### Introduction

#### i. The Discussion So Far

Davy Crockett is given credit for saying: "First be sure you're right, then go ahead." A lot of us could learn a lot from Davy.

The discussion of our perspectives thus far has been confused and misleading. We have spent our time debating issues on which there is basic agreement, and semantical questions which are virtually meaningless. (For example, a debate over whether we should move out "baldly" or "broadly".) There has been a strong tendency, on the part of everyone involved, to invent differences, and to read major differences into questions of terminology. (Actual quote: "You say here our fundamental purpose is to build the vanguard party -- why didn't you say the LSA?") This is not to say that there were not or are not real differences; rather we must recognize that there has been a genuine lack of clarity about what the issues are.

The document "The Political Resolution and the Forum Debate" stemmed from and added to this confusion. It raises a number of points in a very polemical way which are not at all at issue. But it did succeed in making, albeit in a confused way, an important point which has not yet been dealt with. It points out that the major weakness of the Political Resolution is the absence of a clearly stated, coherent, overall line for the movement in the coming period. The direction given in the joint document in terms of what our overall direction should be is misleading, and should be understood in the context that we were not attempting to write the additions and amendments we thought were necessary, but were trying to point out the need for them.

#### ii. The Fundamental Question

The YS is in an unparalleled situation in its seven-year history. After an extensive period of entry work in the labor party youth, the NDY is virtually dead. We are moving to establish an open movement. But no one, so far, has attempted to analyze our situation in terms of our tasks. That is, though the YS has already started to move in a new direction, we have no clear overall perspective.

Some comrades may realize where we are going, may have it all worked out mentally, but it has never been written down. They have incorrectly assumed a general understanding of our direction in the coming period.

As a result, our motion in this new direction has been confused and limited. I think this is because these comrades have not realized that we are taking a new direction -- or rather that they have not seen just how sweeping the implications of this new direction are. And so we find the new direction being pressed in bits and pieces. We have been going at it backwards. Rather than posing the overall tasks of the movement and drawing conclusions for areas of work, we change our activities (forums, campus, YSF etc) and find a line implied by the changes. (An outstanding example of this is the Campus Resolution. The NEC originally did not intend to publish a campus document, and it took a non-NEC comrade to point out that we must take a new direction on campus -- a new direction in line with the new direction implied elsewhere.)



Because the overall direction has been assumed rather than stated, we have had a confused debate -- and the line comes out in a sentence here, a paragraph there. Thus the Toronto local executives position on forums is drawn primarily from one sentence in the Political Resolution, and so on. We must, therefore, pose the general direction of the movement in the coming period, and re-evaluate all of our work in line with this new perspective.

### iii. The Purpose of this Document

After considerable discussion, I find that I am in substantial agreement with the new direction which has been implied. This document is an attempt to state this new direction -- which, as I have said, is no where clearly put forward.

This is an attempt to provide an overview of our work. It necessarily repeats or amplifies on things said elsewhere, especially in the Political Resolution. It ignores many questions which have been raised in this debate, not because they are not important, but because they are peripheral to the main question -- where are we going, and why are we going there.

### The Present Situation

#### i. The New Rebellion of Youth

We are witnessing, in Canada, the first stages of what could well become a major upsurge of youth radicalism. So far this has been sporadic, ill-defined and directionless. It is part of a far wider development which has taken place all over the world -- in fact Canadian youth may be said to be behind the rest of the world. The first signs can be seen in the high school and university protests, the "hippie" phenomenon, etc.

The causes of this new unrest and rebelliousness are many. It stems from the conjunction of a series of factors, which may be briefly stated as follows:

- (a) The continuing suppression of youth, as outlined in the Political Resolution.
- (b) The developing world crisis, beginning roughly with the Suez and Hungarian crises in 1956, leading to Vietnam.
- (c) The break-up of the Stalinist monolith, as the discrediting of the world's Communist Parties.
- (d) The increasing need for imperialism to intervene directly in the colonial world -- Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, etc.
- (e) A prolonged period of economic prosperity, and the need for capitalism to develop new internal and external markets. One major result of this has been the efforts of capitalism to exploit the youth market, which has created increasing self-awareness among youth.
- (f) The youth "population explosion", stemming largely from the post-war baby boom, and the subsequent attempts of capitalism to integrate unprecedented numbers of youth into North American society -- through rapid changes in the educational system, the Peace Corps type projects, and so on.

The new rebellion of youth is not so far a radicalization, in Canada. But the potential is there.

#### ii. The Vacuum on the Left

The Political Resolution describes the situation on the youth left as a vacuum. That is, there are no sizeable or influential radical youth organizations in Canada. This contrasts sharply with most of the advanced capitalist countries. We should examine the causes and effects of this situation.

We must view the vacuum on the left as a profound expression of the world crisis of leadership. The traditional radical leaderships -- stalinism and social democracy -- have failed to mobilize the developing social awareness of youth. Insofar as they are forced to confront the new rebels, they have attempted to limit or suppress their rebellion, to canalize it in "respectable" forms. Their minimum programs do nothing to develop consciousness -- they do not provide a leadership or direction. They fear the revolutionary potential of youth. The NDY in particular has avoided meeting youth at all -- and has faded from the scene. The efforts of the CP, especially in the U.S., to build a mass movement on a minimum program, have failed, after a certain limited initial success.

The delay in the development of youth radicalism in Canada has meant that there has been no real "new left" here. In the U.S., the new radicals, in the absence of established leaderships, moved out to create their own program, their own organizations, their own leaderships. SUPA was an attempt to build a new left from the top down, by the old, bureaucratic and basically conservative leaders of CUCND. Though it received a great deal of publicity and attention in its first year, SUPA was all but still-born. It was unable to provide leadership and direction, and sought shortcuts to the mass movement. SUPA today is little more than a self-renewing cathartic clique.

The vacuum on the left is profoundly important to the YS. It means, by and large, that the radicalizing youth of this period are not going to be found in or around the established organizations. It means that radicalizing youth will be found with their generation. It has created, in large measure, such phenomena as the hippies -- anti-social, anti-political, anti-ideology youth with nowhere to go. The hippies themselves are largely unreachable, but they have a large periphery of youth who are attracted to this "way of life" as the only available "alternative" to capitalism.

#### Our Movement and the Vacuum on the Left

The YS's brief history has been virtually entirely taken up with entry work. A handful of revolutionary socialist youth, we were faced with the task of building the skeleton of a national organization and the cadre of a cadre. We rejected the "shortcuts" of our opponents. Isolated from the mass of youth, we went to the best, the most fruitful area -- the labor party youth. And where our opponents failed, we succeeded. We have built the skeleton. We have more active members than any other radical organization.

Other tendencies are forced to deal with us. The CP continues its slanders and attacks. Some sectors of SUPA spend most of their time defining themselves in relation to us. The NDP, rather than let us take the leadership of their youth movement, destroyed the NDY.

This situation makes it vital that we adopt a new overall direction. Where before our activity was determined by the presence of other organizations, now it is determined by their absence. Combined with the growing unrest among youth, the vacuum on the left creates major tasks and a new overall orientation.

#### Our Tasks in General

The Political Resolution says: "The vacuum on the left gives us a unique opportunity to move out openly and win radical youth directly to ourselves." This is true, but there is more to it than that. We have more than a unique opportunity, we have a duty to move out, and to move out for specific reasons.

The growth of our movement, the growing unrest among youth, and the vacuum on the left have combined to bring us to some degree out of our isolation from youth in general, and radicalizing youth in particular. We must move consciously to escape this isolation to the greatest possible degree.

This does not mean that we will become the leading force among youth in the near future. It does mean that we can become the recognized leading movement on the youth left. Not only can we do this, we must -- to avoid stagnation and isolation. We have built the skeleton of a movement, we must now put flesh on our bones.

In our first period of work in the NDY, our primary task was finding the best elements among the youth attracted to the NDY. As the NDY began to decline, we found that we were increasingly finding youth outside the NDY, and bringing them into our youth clubs. Now we are beginning to attract youth directly to the YS, in small but significant numbers. We must reinforce this trend. No longer can we aim primarily at NDYers, SUPAites, CPers, etc. No longer can these organizations be the "sifting process" which brings us our main body of recruits. We must aim at those youth who would be potential NDYers, etc., if those organizations really existed.

We must project ourselves beyond the narrow circles of political youth we have correctly aimed at in the past. We must take our place as a legitimate movement -- we have no need to ride on anyone's coat-tails; no one else has any coat-tails. We must make ourselves known and listened to among radicalizing youth -- youth who are beginning to question and reject the inequalities, injustices and absurdities of capitalism.

The fact of the vacuum on the left means that our field of operation is greatly expanded -- it is the field of youth. This does not mean that we should attempt to reach and convince the mass of youth. It means that the audience we want to reach will generally not be found apart from other youth. By going to youth (for example, by selling at high schools, Beatle concerts, in Yorkville, etc.) we will find our audience, our potential recruits.

The tendency for radicalizing youth to be found with their generation is in sharp contrast to the situation a few years ago, when such youth -- many of whom are now in our movement -- were outsiders.

We must see the implications of this new direction clearly, and we must recognize our limitations. But above all, we must move out. Implementing this new direction is not merely a matter of changing the content of our forums, or putting a youth article or two in YSF, or running in an election when we can. It is a total re-direction -- and we must re-orient ourselves accordingly. We have taken some steps -- we must carry through.

#### An Open Movement -- An Indispensable Step

The move towards an open movement must be seen in the light of our possibilities and circumstances. There is a strong tendency to view this move as simply the logical culmination of a series of steps we have taken already, the logical extension of our current work. It could indeed be simply a terminological change, the establishment of the organizational form of YSF. But it must not be. The establishment of an open movement is indispensable in the implementation of our new direction. It must be viewed as -- it must be -- a qualitative change, for us and for the youth left.



The YS must be posed as a new movement, not simply as the organizational equivalent of YSF. We should present it as the coming together of socialist youth from various areas -- the left of the NDY, the high school and university struggles, the anti-war movement, the trade unions, around YSF, and so on. (It can virtually be posed as a small regroupment.) We will be THE Young Socialists.

### What Will We Do?

Specific proposals for activities are scattered through various documents. The campus document in particular poses our direction well; we must apply such thinking to all of our work.

Our movement must express the mood of the new youth -- a mood of rebellion, an iconoclastic mood. We are not a movement of prematurely aged teenagers -- we are a youth movement.

Some suggestions which might help indicate our direction. We should publish a YS Songbook. We should consider publishing a Cuban cartoon book. We should produce YS posters. We should print stickers with slogans on them, with YOUNG SOCIALISTS printed boldly and space for a local address and phone. We should have Young Socialists buttons. And other buttons. We should have, and use, a symbol like the YSA's fist and globe.

### Our Press

As the major expression of our movement, our press in particular must reflect our new direction. So far we have posed quantitative changes in YSF -- the need for more youth articles, more light material and so on. This is posed in terms that YSF is presently fine, it just needs some adjustments. But the fact is that the movement and objective conditions have grown past YSF. What is needed is not more youth articles, but a new approach, a new direction. YSF as it is is suited to an earlier period of work. Even its name, Young Socialist Forum, is part of and reflective of an earlier period.

We must see YSF in terms of its total impact -- we tend to see it as a collection of articles. It must be our vehicle for reaching and attracting radicalizing youth to the YS. It must express and give direction to the reactions of these youth. It must fit into their lives and experiences.

As Comrade Frazer says, YSF is not written for youth, it is not a youth magazine. I would go farther and say it is to a large degree stodgy. Its approach is conservative. The fact that we chose to write on Margaret Sanger and not on the pill, on the Black Panther Party and not on Muhammed Ali indicates this. We are too blasé, too sure of ourselves, too calm. The reactions of youth are sharp. Youth are appalled by the hypocrisy and injustice of our society. Youth are iconoclastic. YSF is not.

YSF must become a magazine of rebellion -- a fighting, angry magazine. It should carry movie reviews, cartoons, poetry, and satire -- not as occasional "good things", but as necessary, fundamental material. Most of Comrade Frazer's suggestions are good ones.

Our international articles should have a new slant. We should emphasize the human aspects. We should especially deal with the world rebellion of youth, of all people against capitalism. Some possibilities:

--an article on the situation in Latin America, around the theme, "Where is Che?"

--an interview with a South African revolutionary.

- a round table discussion with Cuban students
- reprints from the European youth papers
- World Outlook's article on India's Sacred Cows
- Reports on student movements and actions in other countries
- statements by OCLAE (Continental Organization of Latin American Students)
- ads for Radio Havana essay contests

We should avoid duplicating the work of other publications of the movement. In particular we must find new ways of dealing with Vietnam.

The key is a totally new approach. To show the difference: An interview with an anti-war GI who had fought in Vietnam headed "Interview with Anti-War GI" is dull from the start -- and that is how we currently approach articles. The same interview, headed "Vietnam Veteran Says -- WE SHOULD GET THE HELL OUT!", is immediately appealing.

I also propose, though this is not key to the line of this document, a change in our magazine's name. Young Socialist Forum is part of a previous period of work. It is a dull-sounding name, not at all representative of what we want our press to be like.

I propose the name REBEL, with a sub-head "The Voice of Socialist Youth".

There are advantages and disadvantages to a name change. The main disadvantage is a loss of a certain amount of political capital we have invested in the present name -- but I believe this can be cut to a minimum. All subscribers to YSF will get REBEL. We can carry an editorial "by the editors of YSF" in the first issue of REBEL, hailing the new movement and passing on the socialist torch. We can even print "formerly Young Socialist Forum" on the inside cover for several issues.

The advantages, I think, outweigh the disadvantages. The name REBEL is far more indicative of the type of magazine we want. It emphasizes the rebellious character of the YS. It emphasizes the newness of the movement -- it indicates a change, a more cut-going perspective.

### Conclusion

The present period offers a wealth of opportunities to the YS. We can expect in the next period to achieve hegemony on the youth left. This will necessitate new methods and new ideas -- methods and ideas we never had to use in the NDY.

The absence of other youth movements does not mean that there are no other ideologies. The presence of the NDP gives reformism a tremendous lever among youth, even in the absence of the NDY. The ideas of the New Left can be extremely attractive to the newly radicalizing youth. Stalinism still exercises an influence over youth, particularly those from CP backgrounds. Our press and our movement must answer these opponents, if only to make our ideas more clear. There would be considerable value in a series of inexpensive pamphlets on the various forms of reformism. But this should not detract from our overall emphasis on moving out to appeal to radicalizing youth directly.

We should not assume that our opponents' present state of disarray will last forever. Particularly as the present unrest assumes a radical character, we will see growth in other sectors of the left, and possibly whole new organizations. We must be prepared for this -- it only emphasizes the necessity of moving out.

now, to establish ourselves as the young socialists, to ensure the maximum possible gains when a radical upsurge begins.

We must root out our conservatism, which has been created by years of entry work. We must eliminate the concept that we are somehow not legitimate -- a concept that pervades much of our work. We are legitimate. We are part of this generation, its left wing. We must be open in our approach -- the comrade who for security reasons does not sell our press should be the exception. We must express the dynamism and vitality of youth. We are sure we're right -- let's go ahead.

\*\*\*\*

#### Postscript -- On Some Other Questions

In order to present a clear and complete line, this document has avoided, as far as possible, referring to the discussion as it has progressed so far. Some comments, however, are in order.

"The Political Resolution and the Forum Debate" was written hastily, virtually with a deadline. It was written during a very heated discussion in Center. And it was written before any of us had a clear idea of what the issues were. The result was a confused and confusing document which deals with a number of issues on which there is no disagreement. But it does point out the need for greater clarity in the Political Resolution, for a clearly formulated direction. This was the reason we wrote it -- to point out the need for additions. It was not an attempt to write those additions.

We, in that contribution, tried to find a general statement of direction -- the only one we could find was in Comrade Pratt's presentation -- a statement we felt was totally wrong. But the forum debate was artificial from the start. We were arguing in circles, since there is considerable agreement in practice. Comrade Frazer shows this confusion when she says that we should not "devote our forums to presentations by our comrades". But no one suggested we thus restrict ourselves, in practice.

Comrade Pratt's presentation is wrong. We are not trying to build a "youth left". We are not trying to "fill the vacuum" with our forums or any other means. We are not trying to attract "the broadest range of young people to radical ideas". We are working to bring the best elements of Canadian youth to the program and organization of revolutionary socialism. In practice we agree on that -- we should watch our semantics. Our forums and other public activities will be the subject of much experimentation in the next period -- this is not to say that we have no direction, but that it will take a while to determine the best modes of action in a new situation.

Finally, on the new direction. The need for more clarity, for a fully and clearly stated line in the Political Resolution still exists. We cannot assume understanding and agreement. We must say what we mean, and we must apply the new line consistently. We have so far failed to do so -- this document is an attempt to rectify the situation.

June 10, 1967



## A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION ON THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION by J. Frazer

This contribution is written within the context of support for the main proposal in the Political Resolution, that is the call for an open organization. More discussion of the problems in the youth left across Canada, and a more explicit statement of our tasks in the coming period, are required.

### I THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION

#### 1. The International Situation; Its Impact on Canadian Youth

The NEC draft summarizes the international situation, and its impact on international politics, quite correctly. The colonial revolution, and the role of the "old left" in relation to the colonial revolution, have been major factors in the radicalization of youth in North America and the rejection of Marxism, or political organizations generally, by these newly radicalized youth.

The draft fails to link this with the nature of youth radicalism. The most glaring contradiction between what we are taught at school and reality is the oppression of the colonial people, and the drowning of the colonial revolution in blood, in the name of democracy. Youth who are not yet hammered into cynicism by years of alienated labor are jolted by the anti-democratic, inhuman actions of the "Great Society" abroad.

The questions of war and peace affect young people more than any other section of society. Youth are sent to kill and be killed in any war; and have most to lose even in a nuclear war which threatens all of civilization.

Even in Canada, where the threat to the lives of youth is not so direct, the anti-war movement now provides the main vehicle for mobilizing youth against the Canadian government.

#### 2. The New Democratic Party and the NDY

The rejection of working class politics by newly radicalized youth in Canada is reinforced by the programmatic poverty and bureaucratic methods of the NDP leadership. When the working class is relatively quiet, the NDP is conservative, and the NDY practically dead, it is particularly difficult to explain our working class orientation to youth.

#### 3. The "Vacuum" on the Youth Left

The death of the NDY as a viable political youth movement has not meant the death of reformism in the youth left. It has meant rather that the arena where we could confront reformism with our program within the context of working class politics has gone.

The political resolution states "This vacuum on the left gives us a unique opportunity to move out openly, and win radical youth directly to ourselves." On the contrary, the lack of an organization which includes the whole youth left (as the NDY once did) mainly increases our isolation,

both from young radicals and from youth generally. The NDY served as a sifting process, and an educational process through which youth became revolutionaries and came to our movement. The fact that the NDY is not attracting the newly radicalized youth does not mean these youth will escape without reformist illusions; both that it is much more difficult for us to reach them to discuss with them and attack their illusions.

The decline of the NDY means that young radicals are not confronted with reformism in a consistent, hard form, presented young careerists supported by the trade union bureaucracy. The youth left today is much more amorphous. The programmatic lines have not been drawn.

The new young radicals, inside and outside the NDY, are under the influence of SUPA, the new left, or the hippies. Frustrated by their own lack of power, and the lack of motion in the working class, these youth are looking for shortcuts. The shortcut in the NDY was "get in power first, then we'll be radical." The shortcut now is "love communities" within the system, Canadian nationalism or "Change the university to change society."

Although we are stronger in terms of cadre, SUPA and the new left are much stronger in terms of influence on a national scale. Nationally, the CP youth is about the same size we are.

#### 4. The Impact of the Anti-War Movement

The anti-war movement in Canada is not as strong or as spontaneous as in the U.S., as the political resolution points out. However, it poses the best possibility of becoming an arena where we can work with other tendencies, debate with them, and win newly radicalized youth to our program. In Vancouver, we are reaching CP youth more than ever before primarily as result of our work in the anti-war movement.

It is easier in Canada than in the U.S. for our opponents to ignore the anti-war movement, and it requires more effort on our part to involve them.

#### 5. Student Struggles

Since the last convention we have seen struggles involving thousands of university students around largely reformist demands, limited to the academic community itself. The youth who participate actively in organizing these struggles are not in a vacuum. They are almost always working under the leadership, or at least under the influence of political of the new left.

The powerlessness of students, their isolation from society and the class struggle, the lack of results from anti-war demonstrations, all combine in the attitude of some leaders of the new left that "What we need is not an anti-war movement but a resistance movement. Our first responsibility is to screw up the machine where we are in contact with it. For us that means on campus. Through changing the university we will change society."

#### 6. The Hippies

The political resolution talks about bringing youth directly to us, attracting broad layers, etc., but doesn't discuss the movement which represents the broadest layers of radicalizing youth. Thousands of youth right across Canada (Winnipeg Yet!) are rebelling generally against the system by becoming hippies. Most of the thousands

have not drawn political conclusions at all. A significant minority participate in anti-war demonstrations. Some of the most articulate actually set out the perspective of changing the whole society by gradually absorbing everyone into their "love Communities" or at least providing such an example of what society could be like that those outside will see their point and change accordingly.

These youth oppose the system, but see no force within the system which can change it. Again, our working class perspective is difficult for them to understand. They come from middle class backgrounds, and have not seen the motion in the working class that could convince them of its potential.

## II THE TASKS OF THE YOUNG SOCIALISTS

It is clear from the discussion so far that a lot of questions have been left unanswered by the MEC draft. Who is our audience? The MEC draft talks of our task as "To bring young radicals to the program of revolutionary socialism" (emphasis added) and later to carry actions "aimed at bringing youth directly to ourselves." Are these contradictory? Are we doing propaganda or agitation? Can we take the leadership in student struggles, in the anti-war struggle, in our own name?

The joint document states, more clearly than the political resolution, "We are fundamentally concerned then with convincing the best elements among the youth of Canada to join the revolutionary socialist movement. It is this 'Vanguard' which we must address ourselves to." It proceeds though to agree with the Political Resolution saying "We have no need to orient to other groups. We can work to bring youth directly to us."

What does it mean to say that we must address ourselves to the vanguard without orienting to other groups? We need a further definition of the term vanguard in this context.

The vanguard of Canadian youth is that section of youth which has made some political commitment, which has participated in some struggle - against the war in Vietnam, against fee increases, for student rights, etc. In terms of recruitment, the most important section of the vanguard consists of the other political tendencies and their periphery - particularly the CP youth and the new left.

Even the broader vanguard, on a national scale, is influenced generally by the new left, in or out of SUPA.

Our task is to educate the vanguard, and give it leadership. That means, first, to confront the other political tendencies working in the youth left.

### OUR TASKS

#### 1. The anti-war movement.

To involve SUPA, the other new left formations, the CP youth, etc. in the anti-war movement, we must be flexible. Even on campus, the membership committee is not synonymous with the anti-war movement. The strengthening of the membership committees through the national organization must be paralleled by the development of united front-type coordination with the other tendencies who oppose the war.

#### 2. Student struggles

We are not in a position to lead the struggles of the broader vanguard in our



own name. It is essential that we work with other left tendencies on campus and go through experiences with student politics, and limited student struggles. Our objective is to broaden the perspective of radical students, to bring them through action against the war in Vietnam to revolutionary working class politics. But we cannot do that by standing outside the struggles that are going on. Participating in student struggles, in student politics, can provide us with a platform to present our program on other issues.

### 3. The New Left

Aside from the odd community organizing project, the new left consists of discussion groups. We should look for ways to participate in these discussions. Every common action will increase our ability to intervene. YSF should debate with them. Individual comrades should debate with them in their press. We should use their meetings as a platform to present our program. And our forums should be broadened to include them as much as possible.

In this period of quiescence in the working class, students who are attracted to informal discussions on the international revolution are an important part of our audience. Our internationalism is most attractive to these youth. It is its identification with the colonial revolution that gives Maoism the amorphous influence it has over new lefters and hippies. We should push Cuban material in Granma and in World Outlook. The proposal that YSF reprint articles from the European revolutionary youth publications is also good.

### 4. The CP Youth

Although the strength of the CP youth varies drastically across the country, it remains one of our main political opponents. The combination of the growth of the anti-war movement and the recent material from Cuba, puts us in a good position to work with them and break down a lot of the old prejudices. It will be more difficult than with the new left, but wherever possible we must try to establish a dialogue with them as well. This must be done very sensitively, stressing our points of agreement and being very flexible organizationally.

### 5. Our Open Work

What does all this mean to the forum debate?

With the open organization, we will be putting ourselves forward more clearly as an independent tendency, and confronting youth directly with the necessity of becoming part of the revolutionary movement.

The main task is not to put forward the revolutionary position in general but to put forward our position on the issue that are being debated by radical youth. We must be involved in the debates on student politics, Canadian nationalism, hippie-ism, etc.

Our forums can become a centre of debate and discussion for the whole youth left. This does not mean that there will be less political content in our forums. It means that our program can be put in the context of the discussion in the youth left.

To achieve this objective, our forums must include outside speakers, films, and lots of panel discussion and debates. To suggest that we must devote forums to presentations by our comrades of our position on some topic is to ask YSF forums to

play the role that should be played by Vanguard Forums and Book of the Month discussions.

#### 6. How We Launch the Open Organization.

Our objective in launching the open organization should be to establish a dialogue with the other tendencies in the youth left and to cut across the red-baiting of the NDY right wing.

The Political Resolution refers to the contradictory development of the NDY across the country. Although it is a mistake to suggest that the NDY situation in B.C. is similar to that in Alberta, it is important for us here to maintain the contact we do have with NDYers. It is important for us as a national open organization to establish a relationship with the left-wingers of the NDY in Alberta and Saskatchewan.

At the same time, we face the frustration and cynicism of student radicals around the fragmentation of the left. The desire for unity of radical youth is widespread -- a desire for unity combined with the lack of a class analysis and the lack of appreciation of the importance of theory and program. Our establishment of a public organization could appear as a further division of the left.

To meet some of these problems, and begin a discussion with all radical youth tendencies around the perspective for social change, and the role of youth in Canada, the "founding convention" of the YS should call for a federated youth movement to support the NDP. The federation could include right-wing social democrats, the new left, SUPA, the YS, the CP youth and theoretically even the Maoists. Each organization would be independent in program and membership; but all would be united in support of the NDP as the Canadian labour party.

Such a proposal would gain considerable support from left-wing NDYers, from independents, around SUPA and the Maoists, who cry unity and it could cut across the line of the NDY right-wing that we are "wrecking and splitting the NDY." It would pose our workingclass orientation clearly: that our struggle for a socialist program is part of our support for the NDP; that our support for the NDP is part of the struggle for a socialist Canada.

In pointing out the role such a movement could play, we can expose the NDY leadership, and begin a discussion which could lead to united actions of at least some of the tendencies involved. A federated youth movement could take the leadership in student struggles, in both universities and high schools; it could organize youth actions in support of strikes; it could initiate actions against the war in Vietnam; it could carry a constant discussion involving the various tendencies in printed form and in public meetings, etc. A thousand times more than the NDY leadership has done!

In spite of the fact that the NDP leadership would not accept any such youth movement, the discussions and experiments which should follow such a call would be very valuable.

#### 7. The Hippies.

The hippies are a very heterogenous group, but they must be considered as part of our audience. YSF should deal with this phenomenon, defending their rights and debating with them. We should attempt to sell our literature -- YSF, Cuba material, and basic Marxist pamphlets -- in their stores, at be-ins, etc. The anti-war movement has already involved them to some extent and we should encourage this development. We should have the occasional public function aimed at attracting them -- poetry readings, panel discussions on alienation, etc.

## NOTES ON THE DRAFT ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

by J. Current

The draft anti-war resolution is essentially correct in its analysis and projections for our future work. This contribution is intended to elaborate on some of the important points raised in the resolution.

The 1965 convention did not pass an anti-war resolution: indeed, the word "Vietnam" does not appear even in the 1965 political resolution. This signifies not so much our own near-sightedness as the explosive growth and relative newness of the Canadian anti-war movement. This convention marks the first time the YS has formally stated a full position on the anti-war movement, and held a full scale evaluation of its anti-war work. During the next two years the anti-war movement is bound to change radically again. Ours is the responsibility to see that the YS-LJS is adequately prepared to meet the changes in the anti-war movement and adjust accordingly.

### Quebec Anti-War Work

The section of the document dealing with Quebec work is only six lines long, which is far out of proportion to the attention that must be given to our work there.

At least two youth organizations, the Quebec NDY and the Union Generale des Etudiants du Quebec, have both declared their opposition to the war, and UGEQ has organized localized, educationally-oriented anti-war activities with some success as far as they went.

In general, these two organizations cannot be substituted for the single-issue committees. The NDY is largely English-based, and is under the heavy hand of its own and the Party's bureaucracy, no matter how good their Vietnam policy is. UGEQ itself is a liberal bureaucratic formation, with no orientation to building a mass anti-war movement. We should attempt to organize independent membership campus committees free from formal links with UGEQ (e.g. as subcommittees). This, of course, does not preclude working with these groups on specific actions.

The success of the student anti-war movement in Quebec depends ultimately on our ability to form independent, French-speaking campus committees at both Universities and the classical colleges. We have already succeeded in doing this at l'Univ. d'Ottawa. SAEWV must recognize a special status for the French committees, and we must encourage the formation of a Quebec SAEWV, or AETGV, if you will. We cannot at this time pose the initiation of a French language anti-war publication, but this must be foreseen as a major function of a Quebec Student Association.

### Medical Aid Projects

The document tends to be somewhat "softer" on the question of medical aid projects than I would like to see. We certainly call upon governments, particularly those of the workers states and Canada, to send aid to the Vietnamese revolution. But the CP and liberal pacifist schemes to drain the anti-war movement of its time and meagre finances for medical aid to Vietnam is diversionary, obscurantist, and a treacherous mockery of the mass, world-wide struggle which alone can end the war. Simple abstention from such projects is not enough. We have a revolutionary responsibility to expose the fraud of the CP and their dupes by scoring their reformism in our press, and at meetings where the idea is raised, underlining the futility of sending \$30,000 to Vietnam to patch up \$20,000,000, 000 worth of damage.



The whole idea of medical aid projects is one of relieving personal conscience through financial contributions -- essentially individualistic, rather than mass in character. This of course stems from its petty-bourgeois base and results in its petty bourgeois (therefore limited) appeal. If the Petty Bourgeoisie have money, we want it to be used to build a mass movement of proletarians against the war. You can't buy a revolution with money. Only mass action will prevail.

### YS/LJS as an Anti-War Organization

As an organization opposed to the war, the YS/LJS has to continually intervene as a multi-issue organization within the anti-war coalition. Affiliation to SANEV, mentioned in the anti-war resolution, is one way of doing this.

We do not wish to substitute ourselves for the movement, either by having the movement embrace the Permanent Revolution or by restricting ourselves to single-issue statements about the war. We do anti-war work primarily to defend the Vietnamese Revolution; therefore we should move continually in the direction of politicizing anti-war youth, explaining why we defend the Vietnamese revolution, and why they should as well. Calling for "Defence of the Vietnamese" as a slogan of our movement is therefore not excluded, in the same way as we called for the defense of the Cuban revolution.

### The International War Crimes Tribunal

The significance of the Tribunal is derived from the fact that it is judging the U.S. bourgeoisie by the very same standards the latter used to judge the Nazi bourgeoisie of Germany after World War II. It is therefore a source of great terror to the bourgeoisie, who have reacted with a most vicious campaign of slander and harassment against the Tribunal and its members.

In Canada, we are fortunate enough to have, thanks to our comrades' intervention, one of the only functioning Committees for the International War Crimes Tribunal in the world. It is important that this effort be supported actively. The Tribunal can be the theme for many interesting debates, public meetings, letters to the Editor. Material is available from the Canadian Committee. Comrades should be sure to read the Canada/Vietnam Newsletter for coverage of the Tribunal, and know how to meet the arguments of the Tribunal's critics. Wherever possible, funds should be raised to aid the Committee in its vital work.

## DRAFT CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS

Submitted by the NEC

The amendments to the constitution proposed below are of four kinds. First are the changes necessary to encompass the LJS and the YS in one unitary movement as has been proposed in the political resolution. Second are the proposals for new names for the leading bodies of the movement. These changes are proposed primarily as a result of the call in the political resolution for an open YS-LJS. If the convention adopts the proposal for an open organization we will want to be able to use the names of our leading bodies publicly. After careful consideration of bolshevik tradition on the one hand and names that would be understood by Canadian youth on the other, the NEC is proposing the names below. Third are changes which add clarity and precision to the constitution and which are basically changes of working. Finally, the NEC is proposing that we set an age limit for membership in the YS. The recommendation that the age limit be as high as 27 years is not intended to be a guideline for regular practice, but rather to allow for exceptional circumstances and to permit the development of a tested and experienced leadership.

1. Change name from YS to YS-LJS throughout.
2. Change National Committee to Executive Council and National Executive Committee to Central Executive Council throughout. Change National Office to Central Office throughout. Change National Secretary to Executive Secretary throughout.
3. Article II delete "English"; change "in" to "to".

Article IV (c) Each member shall pay a sum to be determined by the Executive Council as monthly dues. Locals are responsible for collecting these dues and forwarding them to the Central Office. Members-at-large shall forward their own dues.

(d) (new section) Any member more than three months in arrears in dues ceases to be a member in good standing. Only members in good standing may vote or hold office in the YS-LJS. Members not in good standing may be dropped after notification.

(e) In all political activities, YS-LJS members operate as a disciplined body and are bound by the decisions of the governing bodies.

Article VI (d) The Executive Council shall meet before and after conventions and at least once in years in which there is no convention, or at the demand of one half of the EC members.

Article X (a) Any member or body of the YS-LJS may bring charges against any member for violation of the constitution or discipline of the YS-LJS.

(b) (addition) The accused shall normally be tried by the highest body of which he is a member, although that body may elect to refer the question to a lower body.

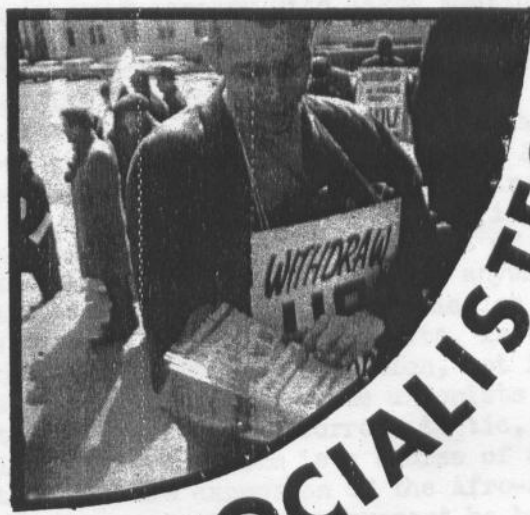
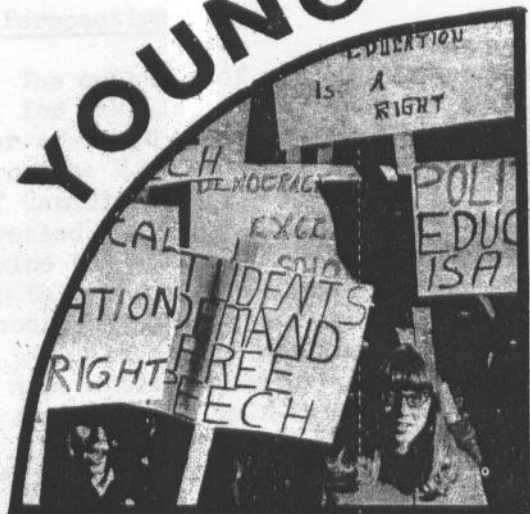
- 4.. Article IV (c) (addition) Insert: "open to anyone 27 years of age or under..."

VOL 3  
NO 9

JUNE  
1967

# Discussion Bulletin

## YOUNG SOCIALISTS



## LIGUE des JEUNES SOCIALISTES

### CONTENTS :

- (D) 1. STATEMENT ON DRAFT RESISTERS  
(E) -Submitted by the NEC  
2? NOTES ON THE ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION  
by K. Anderson

(2pp)

(7pp)



## ON THE QUESTION OF DRAFT RESISTERS

Submitted by the NEC for the coming Youth Convention

The question of aid to draft resisters has become one of the more contentious issues before the Canadian Anti-War Movement. A number of groups, both inside and outside the radical milieu, have undertaken projects to aid draft resisters. The proponents of such aid succeeded in winning its acceptance into the official program of SAEWV. Meanwhile, considerable numbers of draft dodgers are coming into contact with our movement.

### A Proper Perspective

The question of aid to draft evaders is certainly one of the minor problems-- compared, for example, to the problems caused by the NDP and CP leaderships! While the number of draft resisters in Canada is substantial they represent neither a mass exodus from the U.S. of those eligible for the draft, nor an important or strategic sector of Canadian society to which we must orient. Some individual anti-war activists have expressed the position that assistance and promotion of draft evasion is the way to undermine the U.S. military apparatus, but no one in the mainstream of the movement has taken this position seriously enough to act upon it. Nor has the support of four student councils in Ontario for draft evader assistance derailed the movement in any way. However, the liberal and humanistic aspects of draft resister assistance make the question a potential threat to the anti-war movement, especially if we take an incorrect position on the question. Therefore, our position must be clarified.

### The Position of the American Movement

Our co-thinkers in the U.S. are opposed to the draft. It is on the question of how to oppose the draft that our U.S. comrades part company with large sections of the rest of the U.S. anti-war movement. While defending the right of individuals to refuse to be drafted, the SWP holds that individual acts of resistance are ineffectual, that they alienate the resister from the troops and the society as a whole, and provide no spark for the growth of a massive anti-draft movement both because of the character of the act and because of the five-year prison term which is its consequence. At the same time, our American comrades know that the vast majority of draftees who are uneasy about the war or who are opposed to it, join the army with their generation, if only to avoid the prison term and the stigma they would carry with them for the rest of their lives. This uneasiness is carried into the army and like conscript armies anywhere, the U.S. army reflects, if slower and less directly, the mood of the population as a whole. The SWP points out that mass draft resistance, not individual acts, is the only conceivable effective form of resistance to the draft. It is mass action, not individual heroism that American workers can understand, especially trade unionists in the army. However, even though mass resistance to the draft is the correct tactic, the question remains whether, in fact, draft resistance in any form is a course of action for the U.S. anti-war movement. Here, with the possible exception of the Afro-American community, the SWP says NO it is not. The SWP advocates that the movement be based on the demand "Bring the Troops Home Now", a demand far superior in its appeal to the worker and the soldier and one which embodies the principled stand for self-determination and has a clear anti-imperialist punch. If, however, draft resistance develops on a mass scale in the U.S., as it did in Quebec during World War II, the SWP would support it and try to lead it.

While up to this point, the U.S. anti-war movement has talked to the troops from outside the army, it is our comrades who are breaking the ground for work inside the army itself. While U.S. comrades refuse to sign the loyalty oath which severely restricts the civil rights of the citizen soldier, THEY DO NOT ATTEMPT TO EVADE THE DRAFT. As long as the overwhelming majority of eligible draftees accept the draft, our comrades will go with them.

### This Position Applied to Canada

It follows from the policy of the SWP and the FI that our movement in Canada neither advocates nor supports the evasion of the U.S. draft by American anti-war activists. We know that their effectiveness in the U.S., where it really counts, is destroyed by such action. Therefore, we oppose the Canadian anti-war movement making appeals to U.S. citizens to come to Canada and avoid the draft. We also oppose proposals that the anti-war movement adopt projects of aid to draft evaders.

By far the most important aspect of this question is the diversionary character of such action if the Canadian anti-war movement took it up in any major way. First, draft resister assistance is usually not anti-imperialist but rather merely liberal and humanist. It is an escape from the vital task in Canada of confronting the Canadian bourgeois government and demanding an immediate end to Canadian complicity, a highly political and objectively anti-imperialist task. The main job for us which arises from the question of draft resistance, is the struggle to keep the anti-war movement on the high road of opposition to Canadian complicity. To build a movement based on the apolitical underground railway demand is to build a meaningless movement, a mere social agency. While this question poses no serious threat to us now, we should understand the potential danger of it and the romantic appeal which it has for some of the newer, less experienced, anti-war forces. For this reason we have advocated that the section on aid to draft evaders be removed from the SAEWV program.

### Our Approach to Draft Resisters in Canada

This is a secondary aspect of the question, but one upon which we must have a clear position. In general, our movement advocates that young Americans faced with the draft find some way to continue the struggle in the U.S. rather than exiling themselves. Specifically we have pointed out that the best possibilities lie in going into the army. But we must apply this line with some care. For instance, some leave before their draft call and can therefore return without fear of a prison term. When these people ask our advice we can try, through reasoned education around Petrick and by using good sense to convince such people to return to the U.S.A. and to find a means to continue the struggle either inside or outside the army. Most Americans who come here do not have this option. They have burned their bridges and to return would mean facing a five-year prison term. Although we do not propose to take on the job of helping these people settle socially, and we also oppose this kind of activity for the anti-war movement, we extend a warm welcome to these people to join the Canadian anti-war movement and to fight the war here. In reality the question of our approach to draft evaders revolves around the use of reason and common sense. Obviously too, we hope to recruit draft resisters who decide to settle in Canada.

NOTE: We may meet draft evaders who are ex-comrades or who have had considerable contact with the Y.S.A. Locals should contact the National Office of the Young Socialists before recruiting such contacts.



## NOTES ON THE ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

by K. Anderson

### Our Attitude to Draft Dodgers

Before our movement takes a position on our attitude to draft dodgers, our considerations must be put in this framework: these individuals are already here. In most cases, if they return, as we so blithely suggest, they are criminals, subject to three to five years in jail. Even their trial would serve no propagandistic purpose, as it is a straight criminal charge. The war need not enter into it at all. By the time we encounter the draft dodger, his potential effectiveness in undermining the imperialist army is no longer a relevant question. His effectiveness as a member of the international anti-war movement, and possibly the international socialist movement is another matter, and the one we ought to be considering.

The Draft NEC Resolution characterizes these people as "anti-war activists", some of the war machine's "most dangerous opponents". If this were completely accurate, and if the exodus to Canada threatened to decapitate the American anti-war movement, such a hard response as outlined in the Draft Resolution might be warranted. However, we find upon examination that most of the young people who come to Canada to avoid the draft are not the activists, the experienced, relatively developed core of the movement. They tend to be apolitical, from the fringes of the movement, more socially radical than politically radical. The important point for us is that for most, leaving America, the Affluent Society, the Home of the Brave and the Free, is the first significant political and anti-war action they have ever performed. By taking such a step they have committed themselves to opposition to the war as never before. Surely, with such a person our approach should be one of trying to get him to generalize from his experiences and to participate in the movement here to a greater degree than he was able to in the U.S. The struggle goes on in Canada as well.

We also have to consider how significant a contribution he would have made in the army. How much would he have done, inexperienced, with no analysis or perspective, and with little or no consciousness of a movement to back him up. At this point, it is important to examine just what our American comrades are saying on the draft and draft resistance.

### The Position of the U.S. Comrades

The very fact of the presence of so many draft dodgers in Canada is one of many which prove that their generation is not going into the imperialist army under the same circumstances which shaped the proletarian military policy in the past. Our comrades in the U.S. are presenting this policy -- which of course retains all of its essential validity -- with corresponding sensitivity. This sensitivity does not seem to have communicated itself to us.

The bald statement that "Our comrades in the U.S. do not believe...that an anti-draft campaign is a valuable action for the anti-war movement." is not a sufficient presentation of their attitude and the reasons for it.

In the Draft NEC-YSA Anti-War Resolution, submitted to the last national convention, they first made clear, as we do, their opposition to the capitalist draft and their demand for its abolition. On anti-draft campaigns they had this to say:

We view seriously the possibility of building the anti-war movement into a mass movement and therefore determine our tactics on the draft according to their effectiveness in mobilizing the working class...

Our disagreement with many middle class students and radicals on this question lies in our view that a campaign against the draft or to reform the draft is not an effective way of building a movement to end the war...

/Individual acts of civil disobedience against the draft/ might be considered if it would generate a mass movement that could not go along with the draft. However, a few isolated acts of conscience against the draft...are ineffective in mobilizing mass support against the war...we should make our opposition to the draft clear and explain the purpose of it. Furthermore, we should be a part of campus activities that oppose university complicity with the draft...The draft issue can be an important bridge for bringing people into the anti-war and radical movements.

-pp 11-12 YSA Anti-War Res. (NEC Draft),  
Jan. 17/67.

For them the question is a tactical one. The presentation of the whole question in their press has been very careful. It is only now that they are carrying a debate on draft resistance. (See Militant, June 5, p.4). The crux of the debate is mass action as opposed to individual acts of martyrdom as a means of effectively mobilizing to oppose the draft and the war. Note the manner in which they express this: "While the Socialist Workers Party supports the rights of individual draft resisters who refuse to become part of an army that is waging an illegal, immoral, and unjust war in Vietnam, it is firmly convinced that individual resistance is in practice a hindrance to the development of mass resistance to the draft and to the war."

At the Chicago Student Mobilization Conference May 13-14, our comrades supported the three-point focus for summer activity including "2) Opposing the draft and supporting the right of individuals to refuse to cooperate with the military system." The fight at the Conference was to prevent the movement from assuming the responsibility of organizing individual draft resistance. Our opposition to this was based on the divisive effect of such a stand within the movement, and that it was "an obstacle to winning support for anti-war views among G.I.'s and was also a hindrance to developing mass resistance to the war and the draft." (Militant, May 22/67, p.5). Under certain circumstances and to certain degrees our American comrades are prepared to support draft resistance.

### The Army

Contrary to the NEC Draft, our comrades have not been going about firmly stating their conviction that the anti-war activist's place is in the imperialist army if drafted. It is really only lately, with the Howard Petrick case that they are beginning to raise in a very general educational way the possibility of working within the army (See the Militant, June 5, p. 4). Previously their emphasis has all been on the necessity of the anti-war movement turning to the troops. This is the content of Petrick's speech at the Chicago Conference, for example. They have not been putting it to the individual that it is his responsibility to go into the army and organize. Indeed our own comrades avoid the draft as long as possible, by every legal means possible. In light of all this, it seems somewhat over-zealous of Canadian revolutionaries to take it upon themselves to suggest to draft-dodgers, young and inexperienced as most of them are, that they go back and take on the American Army. Particularly as it would amount to an act of individual martyrdom resulting in them spending five years in jail.

It should also be evident that the place where people will be prevented from coming to Canada to avoid the draft is in the U.S., in the atmosphere our comrades are able to create. This task our comrades seem to be handling relatively well, since the U.S. anti-war movement is not in danger of collapse because of exodus.

Once the draft dodger has arrived in Canada, the least we could do is treat him like anyone else who has manifested opposition to the war, and try to integrate him into the Canadian anti-war movement and recruit him to our own. We are on the eve of establishing an aggressive, outward-going public YS. We are doing this to help us reach out to new layers of young radicals who are at varying levels of political awareness. Draft dodgers undeniably are a group who oppose the war. They are here. They cannot go back. Going back would serve no purpose, for the movement, or for their development. They constitute a valuable area of contact work. By adopting the proposed NEC line we would cut ourselves off from being able to discuss anything, ever again, with draft dodgers. They won't ask our advice again.

It must also be stressed that if such a sectarian position is adopted, we cut ourselves off from countless Canadian opponents of the war who sympathize with draft dodgers. Is our leadership of the anti-war movement so well-rooted and the consciousness of the movement so developed that we can take this position and not find ourselves isolated? In their eyes this position places us beside reactionary immigration officials. They would be more correct than us, because this super-hard position is not required; it is not relevant to the situation that actually exists in Canada or in the U.S.

#### The Threat to the Canadian Movement:

##### Is it a Threat?

Unfortunately the Draft NEC Resolution does not present an adequate explanation of why we, of all people, are raising the issue of (a) what draft dodgers should have done; and (b) the danger of the anti-war movement or parts of it diverting to the social work of aiding draft dodgers once they get here. There has been insufficient presentation of the nature and extent of the threat, both in the main centres and nationally. This causes one to ask just how concretely the danger of divergence presents itself at this time? Further, if the question is not being concretely posed, if it is not being discussed within the movement, our raising it is somewhat artificial. We leave ourselves open to misinterpretation and the possibility of battles and splits which are totally unnecessary and destructive at this time. The anti-war movement has to learn through concrete experience. Academic discussion cannot forestall mistakes.

Who is raising the suggestion that the anti-war movement become an underground railway? There has been nothing in the SUPA Newsletter. There has been nothing in the SUPA groups out of Toronto that have any life (Possibly Montreal? We haven't heard) e.g. Victoria, Simon Fraser, Edmonton. Even in Toronto, SUPA tends to keep its dealings with draft dodgers somewhat in the cloak and dagger arena. Further, there has been nothing in the press or the discussions of any other tendency, that is common knowledge; no other tendency except us, of course.

More important, nothing of this was posed at either the Toronto or Vancouver Student Conferences on March 11/12. The Vancouver workshop on Draft Resisters proposed that the anti-war movement should make available to the Committee to Aid American War Resisters names of groups and individuals in the U.S. who would be willing to disseminate the literature outlining Canadian immigration policy, that the movement should



do what it could to ensure that draft dodgers have as much right as anyone to gain entrance and status in Canada, and was very clear, as was the whole plenary session, that the job of the anti-war movement was to expose Canadian complicity and help end the war. The job of aiding draft dodgers was left to the Committee who could best handle it.

The impression of the Toronto Student Conference is that the matter was brought up from the floor to be inserted in the Statement of Principles. It was not discussed in the light of the movement embarking upon it as a project; it was not considered in the workshop discussing future action; it is not mentioned in the proposals adopted by the conference. It seems to have been presented as a position the movement should have in regard to draft dodgers, in a general way. Which elements are raising it now? Exactly what are they proposing for action?

### Could It Be a Threat?

If sections of the movement were to take up aid to draft dodgers in a serious way -- be they liberal student councils or others -- could this alternative derail the movement, diverting valuable time and resources? Let us glance briefly at the situation in Vancouver where there flourishes both a Medical Aid Committee and a Committee to Aid American War Resisters. We find that there is little conflict, either of interest or of diverted personnel. The Aid Committees and the VDC work in different areas. The two Aid committees have proved incapable of detracting from the main body of the active anti-war movement. How could they? Neither of them could possibly become a mass movement, since they are limited by the nature of the tasks they have set for themselves. Indeed, it is convenient that an organized group exists to do precisely the social work around draft dodgers, since it guarantees that the VDC and other active groups will in no way be burdened with caring for draft dodgers once they get here. There just isn't enough social work involved to distract even the core of activists that already exists and keep them satisfied that they are effectively opposing the war. This is particularly so because the membership committees and we are very much in evidence posing the alternative. Such activity which is, as the Draft accurately says, largely social work -- disseminating information, finding accommodation, jobs, lawyers, sponsors, providing a social centre -- is not likely to satisfy activists for long under the present conditions of the movement across the country. The political pressure of this war, and of the American and Canadian anti-war movements is too strong, the political issues of who is responsible too clear already for people to be diverted very far or for very long. Again, just how many people can aid to draft dodgers involve? Are either Medical Aid or SUPA in a position to get away with saying that all you need do is put band-aids on Vietnamese children and help people get away from the draft while the war and the anti-war movement continues and expands? Are we in a position to publicly attack either idea? The response should be one of saying "These things are very good, but you must go further and try to stop the war all together. So come out and join us on the next demonstration." And if some membership committee is possessed by the fever and decides to devote all its attention and resources on aiding draft dodgers, it will be necessary to go through the experience with them, attempting to inject militant, further-going demands which will reveal the nature of the war, American society, and Canadian complicity.

### Liberal Student Councils and Other White Liberals:

Under what circumstances are student councils moving to aid draft dodgers? If they are on campuses like Windsor, where there has been no previous anti-war activity and they have moved in response to anti-war sentiment among the student body, then it constitutes a step forward, a breakthrough. Despite the fact that the student body at Windsor defeated a proposal to invite draft dodgers to Canada, it is undoubtedly easier to raise the issue of the war to get discussion going, and mobilize people to action against the war on Windsor campus since the student council action.

If this occurs on a campus where an anti-war group is already active, it has the same positive effect. It legitimatizes the issue of the war, provokes wide-ranging discussion, gives the committee an opening to push student government and the student body to go further, to do more. For student councils to take a position on off-campus, international affairs is in itself a step forward in heightening the political level on campus. For bodies which were not involved in the anti-war movement at all before, even actions such as suggested hardly constitute a divergence. Also, how much effort are student councils actually prepared to devote to implementing such a position? Student councils being what they are, are they really likely to undertake such a controversial effort on a scale which would divert many activists for long?

#### What Should the Position of Our Movement Be?

Like our American comrades, we must support the civil liberties of draft resisters. We must defend their right to be in Canada and to remain here, under whatever conditions (landed immigrant, citizen, etc.) they wish. It should be obvious that the question has possibilities for education about Canadian complicity in the war they have fled. We must be as open and friendly to the individuals as possible. We should direct them to the groups who are organized to assist them, and try in every way to integrate them into the Canadian anti-war movement and bring them around us. If possible, we should write for their proposed newsletter. Our own draft evader comrades will be invaluable for this. The necessity for a friendly attitude cannot be over-stressed. These people are looking for new friends and a new life, and we have a great deal to offer them.

#### What Should the Position of SAEWV and the Canadian Anti-War Movement Be?

The NEC Draft states: "We are opposed to aid to the draft dodgers as an activity of the anti-war movement." Certainly we are opposed to aid as the activity of the anti-war movement. We can hardly publicly oppose a section of the movement undertaking it. Indeed, the better organized the aid group is, the less threat there is of the general movement having to get involved. We are also opposed to the Canadian movement inviting Americans to come to Canada to avoid the draft. However, ultimately, it is the American movement which determines whether people will come here to avoid the draft, and siren songs from the Canadians will be effective only to the degree the atmosphere in the U.S. movement permits. Also, any group which does get serious about aiding draft dodgers tends to be very careful in its literature not to invite Americans to break American laws by coming to Canada. They dispense only straight information, which the American youth is getting in more persuasive form from the Canadian government anyway.

Further from the NEC Draft: "SAEWV has a section on draft dodgers, saying it will help conscientious objectors to settle in Canada if they so wish. This concept has some support in the movement. We must explain and discuss our position patiently-- but our position is clear; SAEWV must not support underground railways, and the program must be changed"--p. 5.

What is the program of SAEWV on this matter? From the Statement of Principles: "We support the demands of Americans opposing the war to obtain the status of conscientious objectors and stand willing to aid these Americans to settle in Canada if they so wish." First, this doesn't suggest any course of action to the American activist; it does not suggest they should come to Canada, or that they will help them get here. The real problem is the interpretation of "aid to settle". SAEWV does not support underground railways as it is, either in practice or in the general principle. "Aid" is subject to interpretation. If the situation is not polarized, as we seem to be doing, unnecessarily, it is very easy to present this as simple political aid -- defense of their rights to be here and to remain. It is easy to argue that the prime function of the anti-war movement is to oppose Canadian complicity and help end the war. No



one should expect that the anti-war movement should stop doing this to run an underground railway or to aid draft dodgers to settle physically.

By opening a campaign to change the SAEWV program, and raising subtle and find points which will not be relevant to most people in the movement across the country we are giving SUPA and other liberal elements a hearing they did not have before, and we are putting ourselves in the light of wanting a simonpure Trotskyist position for the anti-war movement. Do we really want the council or convention of SAEWV to vote against aiding draft dodgers? Whether we propose our position explicitly as an alternative or not, it will be clear to people that we are bringing up the matter and pressuring for a change because we want things closer to our pure line. This is not how we wish to operate in the anti-war movement.

#### General Comments on the Nature of the Canadian Anti-War Movement:

As the NEC Draft outlines, different conditions prevail in the Canadian anti-war movement than in the U.S., chiefly because of Canada's less direct involvement in the war. It is necessary to develop a broader attitude to the anti-war movement. Opposition to the war is broader than the young anti-war movement and broader than the membership committees. In general, it is at a lower level than in the U.S. The membership committees are only part of this more diffused movement, and not the largest part. It is true anywhere, but especially in Canada at this time that any kind of anti-war activity -- even tag days for medical aid through the Red Cross or student council resolutions -- helps build and extend the movement. The activities draw in new people, make it possible for us to get to them and begin the educational process. They publicize and increase anti-war sentiment. We must handle ourselves with the consciousness that people come into the movement under less pressure than in the U.S. and hence tend to be at many and varied levels of development, and operate with a correspondingly positive attitude. Because the Canadian anti-war movement is so new it cannot yet really involve all the elements opposed to the war, and especially not at the advanced level of Immediate Withdrawal and frontal opposition to Canadian Complicity. Criticism of the CP, the PWM, the NDP is valid in the framework of conscious divergence of resources and influence away from clear political opposition, but for most of the anti-war movement almost anything is a step forward. The fact of Canadian involvement being less direct means that the progress of people through to radical demands, where they see the necessity for uncompromising demands will be slower. In this we are helped immeasurably by the pressure of the U.S. movement for these demands.

In light of these conditions, united front work assumes a very great importance in the tactics of the coming period. Our base in the membership committees with their militant program and inspiring record of initiative and consistent work will enable us to operate with some authority in united fronts.

Another aspect of the lower pressure here underlines the importance of united fronts in the youth arena. Most young people opposed to the war in Canada are more advanced politically than in the U.S. That is, one will more likely find them in one of the various tendencies and organizations operating in the youth field. They come to oppose the war because of a more general opposition to society, rather than having their very first radical experiences around the issue of Vietnam. Working with these other campus and youth groups, pressuring them into anti-war activity with the approach of each demonstration or big meeting, is the only way to get at these young people. On most campuses in Canada, Vietnam is not the issue at this time and is often drowned out by some more passing student issue.

The question arises as to whether we will be able to encompass the leadership of the youth radical and the anti-war movements in the membership committees. Our general experience (UBC, SFU, Edmonton, Toronto) seems to be that although the committee may initially be the united front itself, it soon evolved into the most militant elements, who are prepared to carry consistent work on Vietnam; usually out-selves and some independents who have first come around politics because of Vietnam. The others may become involved in other issues which, to them, seem as important as Vietnam. All this emphasizes the necessity to be more flexible and aggressive in exploitation of the united front. This is particularly important on campuses away from the main centres where the radical milieu is less polarized and defined. For example, we must be careful not to allow SUPA to act like a competitor of the anti-war movement, or to treat it as such. In many cases, we will find it difficult to broaden the membership committees beyond us and a few independents.

The formation of SAEWV has increased the impact and effectiveness of the membership committees. It is essential to building the youth anti-war movement that we embark upon a campaign of getting other tendencies and groups to affiliate to SAEWV and involved in it. SUPA, the NDY if possible, miscellaneous student groups like the Internationalists, SCM, whatever possibilities exist in Quebec, and also off campus youth anti-war groups, like Youth Medical Aid, or the Ad Hoc Youth Committee (The Vancouver CP youth manifestation.) The likelihood of the sharp programmatic edge of the movement being dulled is not too great, since Withdrawal and End Complicity are accepted across the country in the student area.

A high degree of organizational flexibility and sensitivity in organizational matters is required by the nature of the movement. We have to be most careful about making our organizational weight felt. We must do everything we can to involve the maximum number of young people so that they can learn by participating. Formal democracy doesn't mean much in such a youth group. As long as the principles of non-exclusion and open debate operates, and the clear program is generally accepted, we can loosen up a good deal. In general, we tend to be a bit formal in our approach, a little unwilling to let people learn through experience and through their mistakes. At all times we must remember that the anti-war movement and the youth radical movement are just beginning in Canada and that we are not the sole leadership. We must be careful not to act as such or we will isolate ourselves.

VOL 3  
NO 11

JULY  
1967

# Discussion Bulletin



## CONTENTS :

- (A) Our High School Work, submitted by the N.E.C.
- (B) Amendments to the Political Resolution, submitted by the N.E.C.
- (C) The Organizational Character of the Y.S., by G. Pedersen
- (D) On Contact Work, by B. Houghton
- (E) Notes on the Draft Anti-War Resolution, by C. Scarlett, K. Karl and J. Jones
- (F) In Reply to Comrade Frazer, by J. Crandall
- (G) SAEWV

(5pp)  
(4pp)  
(4pp)  
(2pp)  
(3pp)  
(6pp)  
(3pp)

## HIGH SCHOOLS

("Our High School Work, submitted by the N.E.C.") (DB Vol.3 No.11—July 1967)

The main points of the 1966 High School document by J. Jones still stand today. This document stated that the high school was an important area of work for our movement. Jones says: "The high school system contains about 70% of the youth in Canada between the ages of 14 and 19. They are conveniently concentrated in the institutions of about a thousand students making them the most accessible and organizable broad strata of the population." The document says that while students are not in a strategic position to change society as only the working class is, they are in a key position in the bourgeois propaganda machine.

Jones talks about the "permanent revolution" in the high schools. That is, nothing can be done in the high schools without coming into conflict with the administration. Jones says: ("It is this confrontation that clearly reveal to students the crudity and arbitrariness of the little Napoleons and tyrants that are our high school principals.) They can begin to understand and sympathize with workers who are fighting grievances in the factories. They can see how a lack of democracy in the schools is a precondition for creating people who will accept the absence of democracy in the factory and how complete control of the schools by "adults" acts as a transmission belt for feeding in the ideas of the older generation and preserving the status quo. And so the fight for democracy in the schools can be seen as an integral part of democratizing the society as a whole and can be carried to completion only through a social revolution in Canada."

This conflict with the administration is a profoundly educating experience. The impact opens students eyes. They begin to examine their situation in more depth — they begin to question the other pillars of bourgeois society. In this way the struggle for measures of democracy in the high schools are profound radicalizing experiences and become part of the general struggle to change society as a whole.

Because of this situation, it takes a lot of understanding — almost a revolutionary perspective to see the perspective for the struggle and to lead the fight for civil rights in the high schools. The socialists in the high schools have to have a student program oriented to the struggle for student rights. We have to be ready to move out and lead student struggles on a minimum programmatic level. We view the leading of these struggles as an essential part of our work.

The Jones document contains the outline of a student rights program which in the main consists of the following points:

1) Free speech, uncensored student press, right to form clubs freely, use of school facilities such as PA systems, student assemblies etc. to express points of view; 2) End to arbitrary rule and punishment; 3) In student council elections — use of school facilities for election, one student one vote.

This program was further elaborated in the John Riddell campaign for school trustee.

In the past year we have had some very successful breakthroughs in our high school work. Our forces in high school have grown considerably, although they have been concentrated mainly in Toronto. Right now the Toronto local has a high school fraction of nine, only two of whom were comrades at the beginning of the school year. This considerable growth of our forces has made it possible to carry high school work in a more consistent and intense manner. Because of this SAWV has grown and expanded its connections. We have also participated in and led some significant high school struggles.

## Anti-war

As the draft Political Resolution says: "The two years since our founding convention have been the years of Vietnam." This has shaped all areas of work, including our work in the high school arena. The brutal war and the threat of WW III has become a vital issue to high school students who have the most to lose in a nuclear holocaust. The war has been the main radicalizing force in high schools over the past period. While we have seen a growing number of short lived protests over such issues as long hair and detentions, the Students Against the War in Vietnam is the only high school radical group of any numbers that has continued to exist and grow over the past couple of years.

To date, SAWV has flourished only in Toronto. On a Canada-wide scale it has failed to establish itself. SAWV groups in Ottawa and London, initiated over the past two years, have remained very weak and very narrow, failing to expand and broaden into the high schools in a viable way.

However, in Toronto we have had a rich experience with SAWV. We have seen that SAWV's growth and healthiness is directly proportional to the amount of effort we put into it. When we work consistently in it, it is alive and active, when we let it slide for a while, due to lack of personnel, etc., SAWV becomes narrow and inactive.

There is a real necessity for SAWV to move out with impressive actions of a public character. Each time Toronto SAWV has carried such an action it has easily reaped much more than it put into it. Last spring it carried a SAWV 'speak-out' and demonstration that attracted almost 200 students and resulted in over 50 new names of students interested in SAWV. It also published a brief to launch a campaign to get Vietnam teach-ins into Ontario schools, which was immediately picked up by the Toronto dailies. This campaign will give us something to effectively build around over the summer and into next year. We must continue to carry actions like these in order to build SAWV.

It is our aim to broaden SAWV geographically, to build it into a country-wide movement. It has been our experience in London, Ottawa and Vancouver that it is extremely difficult to build high school Vietnam committees without high school comrades - or with a very small number. However, we must not let this detract from our attempt to establish SAWV clubs in centres outside of Toronto.

In the foreseeable future it is not realistic to pose the formation of a country-wide SAWV to which the local groups could affiliate. This results from the lack of sufficient organizational resources at hand.

In the present period we should propose, to new high school Vietnam committees, that they affiliate to SAEWV, that they associate with other local SAEWV's in common high school actions and that they circulate and contribute to *Dissent*.

The first step is, of course, to get something like SAWV started in other cities. Where we do not have high school comrades we should assist in this directly and through SAEWV. SAEWV is the only existing Canada-wide association through which all students can take part in common actions. Such an organization has more resources to build the whole student movement and therefore can be of valuable assistance in the building of SAWV.

In Toronto, SAWV was originally formed with two or three students and there is no reason why it couldn't be formed by such meager forces in other cities.

*Dissent* has a special role to play in the building of SAWV. Through a high school publication, as with a high school organization, high school students can identify more clearly with the antiwar movement. The major need is for a public expression of high school opposition to the war. Therefore, *Dissent* should be more oriented to articles and news on the war and Canadian complicity. Such content is required to acquaint students with the arguments against the war. This need is not met with organizational reports. (The experience with the Canada Vietnam Newsletter is very informative in this regard.)



*Dissent* can play a key role in making connections for SAWV across the country and thus expanding the high school movement. It must obtain articles from students across the country. In this way it will present SAWV as a dynamic and broad movement. The Letters page has been the beginning of this effort to broaden the scope of *Dissent*. Where we have comrades or contacts we can sell bundles to get high school contacts.

SAWV must 'high school-ize' itself. Within the bounds of a single issue Vietnam committee it must pick up high school issues, agitating within the high school context. An example of an effective way to do this is the high school teach-in campaign. Another way to do this is to form SAWV clubs in individual high schools.

These need not always be officially recognized clubs, but just groups of high school students from the same school that meet and plan actions centering primarily around that particular school. But we must also be prepared in some instances to fight for the right to organize SAWV clubs in the school.

The value of single high school based clubs is obvious. A committee is built by day to day activities involving a good section of the membership. The city wide SAWVs present real problems in carrying regular activities because the students are from so many different schools and areas that it is an organizational feat just to get them together. Unlike the campus committees, city wide SAWVs cannot participate in common activities such as sales on a day to day basis. The high school based SAWV can offer the new member an organization that is active in his school, within the frame work of his daily life.

There are, of course, shortcomings to high school SAWV clubs. We have found at this stage that we can only concentrate on building one club in a high school. Unlike NDY clubs, SAWV cannot carry campaigns on a wide range of issues.

### **Student Unions**

The 1966 Jones document touches on the question of student unions. It says in part: "We can expect increasing numbers of students to become involved in these and other protests which may catch on to the extent of enabling us to push for a students' union in which NDYers would play a leading role, but would be much broader.

This projects student unions as a more or less immediate goal. But a student union, by definition, must represent the majority of the students, not just a minority of radicals. The present situation does not lend itself to a parallel with the working class. Workers are inextricably bound to the factories - they are there until death. Students on the other hand have a limited time in the schools, they know that graduation is but a few years off. They are conscious of this and consequently are not forced into a continuing struggle against the system. The threat of expulsions also intimidated radicalizing students into silence and acceptance of the status quo.

With students, unlike workers, radicalization tends first in the direction of political demands rather than economic demands.

In addition, there are no indications that a demand for student unions would receive the mass support of the students. In fact we have noted just the opposite, most recently in Ottawa where our comrades had the experience of drawing 200 high school students out to a demonstration for democracy in the schools after two days of leafleting. Although a very tense situation existed in several schools, which was the reason we initiated the action, a meeting of about 150

students a couple of days after the demonstration not only did not propose student unions, but essentially rejects the concept when our comrades put it forward.

Thus, unions formed in the present period would most likely become bureaucratically deformed hollow shells acting as road-blocks rather than vehicles for the struggle.

Another factor that retards the formation of student unions is the fact that company unions already exist in the schools. These are the student councils. Inasmuch as there is a representative body of the students, they are it. In reality they represent the interests of the administration and most students (will) agree that the councils are a farce. But at this point, it is not possible to ignore the student councils and call for real representative bodies, i.e., unions. The students have not yet reached the level of consciousness where they see they must bypass the councils and form their own unions to speak for them. We do not anticipate unionization in the high schools in the near future. Thus the demand for unions, with bargaining rights with the administration is not one of our more prominent demands. On the odd occasion where we might put it forward it is in a very propagandistic way. We try to get around the question of what organizational form the implementation of our demands for democracy will take. We try to get around the problem of the student council vs. the student unions since it is a problem that cannot be solved at this point. At any rate the question is seldom posed because when we are involved in student rights campaigns we often set up ad hoc committees around a single issue. We make demands like the democratic election of representatives to control discipline and the election of a negotiating committee to meet with the school board.

## **The NDY**

The 1966 document poses the necessity of forming high school NDY clubs. In the past year we have seen the forced decline of the NDY to the point where it hardly exists in most of the country. In the light of the state the NDY is now in, the political resolution draft says: "Under present conditions, we cannot regard the NDY as a major area for the Canada-wide movement. We cannot assume the responsibility for building it. This applies to our high school work too. This means we no longer see a major part of our high school work as fighting for NDY clubs in the high schools.

## **High School Leadership**

There are real problems in developing a high school leadership, some of which were touched on by comrade Jones. The maximum length of time we could have a comrade in high school is 5 years (as Jones says our comrades do not fail). But the average is more like 2 years. This short period of time in political work means that the comrades are limited in the scope of their experience. They are also limited in their participation in politics by the fact that they live at home with their parents and are under their parents discipline. At the same time the high school arena is an extremely difficult and demanding area of work. The possibilities are great but our resources to take advantage of them are limited. The high school comrades are spread over a wide range of high schools. Rarely do two or more comrades get to work together in one school. They have difficulties keeping in contact with each another, let alone build a high school leadership.

Because of this problem in the developing of a collective high school leadership within our movement the experience and resources of the whole movement are vital to the year to year, continuing success of our high school work. The movement as a whole passes on its experiences. Without this organizational concept we would have to start afresh each year. Only through the direction of the entire movement can we avoid making old mistakes.

During the high school campaign in the NDY we called for high school autonomy. This was intended to protect the campaign from the hostile bureaucratic misleadership of the Provincial Executive which would

have wrecked the entire campaign. However, in our movement, the fractions, the specialists in each work area, carry out the day to day work, the general decisions are made by the entire movement based not only on the experiences of the past years work but also on the entire experience of the class struggle and Marxism. We do not have the concept that fractions or committees function autonomously.

*(ends --ed.)*

## AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION

(Submitted by the N.E.C.) (DB Vol. 3 No. 11 • July 1967)

In summary, we see that none of the previously established tendencies which youth have approached or looked to in past years have succeeded in attracting substantial youth forces. The anti-war movement, far from building the forces of these radical tendencies, seems to have been sucking out their members. None of our opponents (*except -ed.*) the NDP-NDY, **not** an opponent organization. has been dealt with above (*previously -ed.*) has the forces or the program to make rapid gains. And their failure is in large part the cause of the small size of radical youth forces in Canada. There is a very real vacuum on the left before Canadian youth.

The weakness of the existing tendencies stands in contradiction to the objective possibilities of youth radicalism, and cannot long hold back such a radicalization. We have seen how, in the U.S., large numbers of youth have radicalized independently of all the old tendencies. It is characteristic of the radicalism of youth that it waits for no class, organization or leadership to show it the road. This radicalization in Canada will doubtless be uneven, and may not assume mass proportions for some time. But we can already see its first stages in the single-issue protest movements springing up, both on world issues like Vietnam or Rhodesia (*now Zimbabwe -ed.*) and on questions which affect young people's own lives like student democracy. In addition, we can already see the growth of unaffiliated radical groupings like the Internationalists • of Vancouver or the "League for Social Action • of Halifax.

What does this "vacuum" mean for us? First, while opponent tendencies exist none contains a large body of radical youth towards which we might orient for our recruitment. Even more, the opponent tendencies have not yet constructed viable Canada-wide organizations, and do not possess the program, the organization or the cadre to make rapid gains from this present radicalization, or to establish their hegemony over it. Of existing left tendencies, we are in many ways in the strongest competitive position in terms of our program, our Canada-wide organization and the strength of our forces. Our task is to establish our hegemony across Canada of the socialist left, and win to the banner of revolutionary socialism the new wave of militant youth now beginning to appear in Canada today. The present vacuum on the left gives us a unique opportunity to do this by moving out openly, and winning radicalizing youth directly to ourselves. Flowing from this is the need now to form an open organization.

## FOR AN OPEN ORGANIZATION

For six years we have functioned without posing ourselves publicly as an organization • first completely underground, then as a "magazine". While this was necessitated by our NDY orientation, it has caused us many severe problems through the difficulty of posing ourselves as an alternative to those moving towards our political positions. In past years we have begun to make adjustments the most notable of which was the foundation of the L.J.S. (*Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes*). We are now at the point where an open organization is essential to our functioning in English Canada.

It is the norm for revolutionaries to function openly. The YS (*Young Socialists*) was founded as an open organization, and gave up its open face in 1961 only in view of its weakness and the necessity of having the greatest impact in the NDY then in formation. Even then, we

could make this decision because of our ability to utilize the open face of the League. But it is far more effective to proclaim our ideas publicly, as well as through the medium of other organizations, where they may be muffled by the demand of tactical situations. An open organization can speak to and attract an incomparably broader circle of contacts. It unites theory and practice in our open work. Contacts who agree with our program are called on to join our organization to promote it. An open organization cuts across the prejudices against us as "infiltrators" or "subversives". All this is even more true in the youth arena, for youth do not have the old prejudices against our ideas, and tend to be repelled or disoriented by the cloak and dagger atmosphere which a movement working essentially "underground" inevitably engenders.

The launching of our open organization in English Canada does not conflict with our NDP orientation in any way. We will continue to support the NDP, and to argue the case for joining and building the NDP, and working to win it to socialism. As for the NDY, we have supported it because it is the youth arm to the NDP in the youth field, and our NDP orientation does not automatically apply to the ND(Y). In many parts of Canada the NDY is virtually defunct; in other areas, it is the lifeless tool of a right wing which blocks the road to the NDP for young people. We cannot give much meaningful support to the NDY under such circumstances.

We generally support the building of a mass all-inclusive autonomous NDP youth movement. Specifically, we support the NDY to the extent that it represents and helps promote this goal; to the extent that it exists and operates as a viable movement.

What will be the direction of our open work? We cannot ourselves fill the vacuum on the left by the failure of the NDP to build a viable youth movement. But we can take advantage of it to move out, to establish ourselves as the predominant socialist tendency among youth in Canada. We can take advantage of the weakness of radical groups to move out with our propaganda to the broad layers of youth just being touched by radical ideas. The larger part of our audience; and our potential recruits, will be found not in the opponent tendencies, or the radical groupings, but in the broader milieu of high-school and university students just coming in contact with radical ideas, just starting on the road to radical action.

Given the default of the NDY and other tendencies, we now bear the responsibility for the basic socialist education of the new generation of young radicals. We must explain the socialist alternative – in all fields – and in so doing, our organization will become recognized as the socialist alternative for youth in Canada.

The anti-war movement has dramatically shown our ability to move out on our own, when other movements fail, to initiate and lead single-issue actions and movements. We may sometimes be able to do so in our own name; more often we will be able to be a leading part of a united front for specific goals.

The effectiveness of our open activities has grown immensely since our last convention, and we can now say that the transition to an open organization has been carried out in many respects. In Quebec, with the foundation of the LJS, it has already been completed. We have published a magazine and circulated it widely, maintained our own headquarters, held regular public functions of many types, and even run for the highest civic offices. But the constitution of a public organization will enable us to move out much more boldly and effectively in this direction. The vast majority of our members will be enabled to function



openly, and this will greatly strengthen every aspect of our open work. We can then strengthen our program of regular public activities, which should feature a variety of activities: forums, socials and cultural events, designed to make us the centre of discussion and socializing for young people interested in radical ideas. We can move out much more boldly in organizing actions and demonstrations on youth issues. We can work under our own banner in building the anti-war movement, and build nationally known spokesmen for the YS and LJS through this and other arenas of work. We can present contacts much more directly with the need for them to join the YS and LJS.

In this way we can benefit from the weakness of our rivals and present the YS and the LJS as the organization of socialist youth in this country. The YS, on its founding can be represented as a coming together of young socialists from many origins — *YSF*, *NDY*, anti-war. We will of course strongly support the NDP, and present ourselves as "the socialist youth movement that supports the NDP." On the other hand, we will affirm that we are a revolutionary socialist youth organization based on Marxist theory and program, and we will not hide the fact that we are Trotskyist, or our solidarity and fundamental political agreement with the LSA-LSO.

## CORRECTIONS

1. In the document, "Notes on the Draft Anti-War Resolution" by J. Current in Volume 3 Number 8" of the (*Internal*) Bulletin, under the sub-head "YS-LJS as an Anti-War Organization", the last sentence should read, " Calling for 'Defence of the Vietnamese Revolution' as a slogan of our movement is, therefore, not excluded, in the same way as we call for the defence of the Cuban Revolution."

2. Since the publication of "A Contribution to the Discussion of the Draft Political Resolution" by J. Frazer in Volume 3 Number 8 of the (*Internal*) Bulletin, Comrade Frazer has submitted a clarification, Which is presented below.

The first sentence of the fourth paragraph in the section 6. "How We Launch an Open Organization" should now read, "to meet these problems and begin a discussion with all radical youth tendencies around the perspective for social change, and the role of youth in Canada, the "founding convention" of the YS should call for a federated youth movement **affiliated to the NDP**. The change is bolded and in the original it read, "to support the NDP."

## THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE Y.S.

(by G. Pederson) (DB Vol. 3 No. 11 – July 1967)

This document is not posed in any way as a definitive or final statement of the organizational nature of the Y.S. Rather it will deal with the main aspects of our organizational principles, and in particular, those which are relevant to the discussion around the nature of the proposed open organization.

The YS/LJS is a Marxist-Leninist youth movement, which recognizes that the revolutionary force in capitalist society is the proletariat, and therefore that the key political force which will lead in the struggle for the abolition of capitalism and the establishment of the basis of socialism – a "workers' state" – is the proletarian vanguard party. In Canada, that party is the LSA-LSO (*League for Socialist Action - Ligue Socialiste Ouvrière*). In the context of our fundamental agreement with the program and principles of the LSA-LSO and our recognition of their role as the basis of the Party which will lead the Canadian socialist revolution, we work to build our youth movement through the widest range of independent activities aimed at youth. We want to lead Canadian youth to the side of the working class so that, youth can play an effective and constructive role in the establishment of socialism in this country. Thus our goal is nothing less than the marshaling of youth against the capitalist class, and this task is by no means an easy one.

### The Example of the Heroic Vietnamese Liberation Fighters

Every comrade in our movement has a tremendous respect for the heroism of the NFLSV. In reality we are faced with the same struggle under different conditions here. While we are not engaged in bloody and violent civil war in Canada now, the qualities of the NFLSV are demanded of us in the daily civil war of the class struggle, the qualities of complete solidarity in thought and action, and an unerring singleness of purpose which gives to us a lightning striking power on the one hand, and on the other, the flexibility to change tactics, to shift the weight of our blows, to take new conditions rapidly into account, to absorb here and repulse there, all in the process of building our movement and uniting youth in the struggle for socialism. The discipline and devotion, the selflessness and courage of the NFLSV liberation soldier is just as necessary here, for although we do not stand under the immediate fire of imperialist artillery, the forces at work to destroy our movement are present in Canada just the same. Our comrades are not isolated from the society they live in. That society, with its powerful propaganda machine, its culture, its family system, its schools, exerts a constant insidious pressure, a pressure that can eat at our movement if we are not vigilant and single-minded about our socialist goal.

### Our Organizational Ends and Means

The most outstanding example of our organizational goals is the great Bolshevik Party of Lenin – Lenin was the inspiration and the main political leader in creating the finest proletarian combat party that has existed to date. It was a Party which could do battle with the feudal and capitalist classes of Russia and win. The organizational excellence of the Party of Lenin is our goal. Our means, the tool with which we build toward that, is democratic centralism. What is democratic centralism?

Democratic centralism is a dialectical organizational concept. It embodies the unity of two opposites – democracy and centralism – into a highly flexible, highly adaptable, highly effective unitary whole. Democratic centralism allows us to utilize the energies and experiences of our comrades in the most fruitful way to achieve our political ends. Our program, our strategy, and our tactics are determined democratically by the membership, so that all the richness of our comrades' many experiences and their trained minds can be brought to bear on the job of determining a correct course of action for the YS. In action, we are a centralized unit. This gives us the maximum striking power, the greatest ability to implement our program in the most effective way. There is no fixed relationship between the democracy and the centralism of our movement. This is as it must be. Under some circumstances we have the opportunity to engage in full and open discussion about what we are doing. That is the situation revolutionaries prefer and whenever we can do that, as we can, for instance, in Canada in this period, we do it. Under different circumstances we may find ourselves required to make a major turn very rapidly, or we may be made the victims of

severe repression at the hands of the police. Under such circumstances we have to assert the combat character of our organization. We become something like an army, and the leading bodies of the movement are like the general staff.

Within this general framework we have to apply democratic centralism to our day to day work. It is on this immediate level that the high degree of flexibility and the superiority of our organizational concepts becomes immediately obvious. A specific example of the differing character of democratic centralism is the moves of the Socialist Workers Party to proletarianize the composition of the Party after the dispute with the petit-bourgeois opposition in 1939-1940. The dispute with Burnham had revealed that the social composition of the SWP was a potential powder keg and that without more solid roots in the working class the party could easily leave the revolutionary road. Therefore it was made incumbent on non-worker members to work with the trade union fractions and in the proletarian arena. Those who found it impossible to do that were dropped from membership. The SWP does not require this today. In fact it wants its student comrades to stay on the campuses because of the radicalization in the universities. Thus the standards and norms required for membership are different in different periods and under different circumstances. Another example of the flexibility our organizational concepts allow us is the ability of larger locals to recruit contacts at a lower stage in their political development than a smaller local. This is possible because the larger local can more easily integrate and educate new members without fear of the overall norms declining.

### **The Character of the Revolutionary Socialist Youth Movement in Canada.**

If democratic centralism can vary in its application over different periods and in different circumstances, what is the period we find ourselves in in Canada now, and what does it mean in terms of the norms of democratic centralism in the YS(?) Canada at the present time presents us with a favourable milieu in which to work. The state does not harass us and we have the legal right to function. We are able to use a fairly wide range of democratic rights, such as freedom to speak and publish a paper, freedom to organize actions and to demonstrate. We do not live in fear of prisons and concentration camps. Therefore, we do not need to emphasize the centralism and strict discipline of which we are capable, in this period. But further, it would be a grave mistake to do so. Our norms of discipline not only can alter with the situation, but they must. Canadians, especially youth, are educated in bourgeois schools to accept democracy and open politics as a way of life. When young people find that capitalist society doesn't live up to its claims they often begin looking for someone or some group that does practice these ideas. We are an organization which supports democracy and we are now in a position to practice it broadly. To do otherwise would be to alienate youth we could otherwise recruit.

The political resolution deals at length with the character of youth in Canada. It points out that the objective conditions for the radicalization of youth in Canada are ripe, and that the subjective development of the youth rebellion is already underway. The political resolution goes on to point out that there is a complete lack of mass youth organizational structures through which this developing youth rebelliousness can be channelled and developed into youth radicalism and revolutionary socialism. This situation presents us with a valuable opportunity to move into the arena of the youth rebellion ourselves, and, to the limit of our resources, draw rebellious youth around us. Hence we must take on the task of radicalizing those youth and of developing them into revolutionary socialist youth. This task which the political resolution sets before us has important significance for us in terms of our organizational concepts.

Of first importance is the fact that there are no viable youth organizations through which youth can develop from radicals to revolutionaries. The NDY, in better days, provided a framework in which young people could gain a concrete proletarian perspective and an understanding of the dead-end nature of reformism and the need for a socialist and revolutionary alternative. Thus when we recruited from the NDY we recruited people who were, in all essential points, revolutionaries. No longer is there a medium through which young people can gain a revolutionary perspective through active political experience outside our movement. We must now recruit radicals, and win them to the rounded program of proletarian socialist revolution inside our movement. Thus we must recruit at a different political level, a lower political level.

Discipline and unity of action, derives from political homogeneity. A high level of understanding among the membership, of our goals and our methods, leads easily to agreement on tactics and strategy and hence to the only meaningful unity of action, that based on understanding and agreement; that is, hard discipline requires a highly developed membership. If we recruit, however, at a lower level, and if our task is to educate new members to the program of revolution, it is obvious that the movement as a whole will not have and cannot have the high understanding requisite for high disciplinary norms. In fact, we must be capable of using our organizational concepts with the greatest degree of flexibility. We must maintain certain norms of commitment to the movement. Comrades must work to implement the decisions and program of the movement in the areas to which they are assigned, in a regular way and under the direction of the officially constituted bodies of the YS/LJS. Comrades must attend local meetings, pay their dues and contribute financially to the extent they are able. All comrades must be politically loyal to the YS/LJS.

These are the norms of commitment which we require. In certain cases, for very good reasons, some comrades may not be able to meet all these norms of membership. We must understand that no principle is violated when such a situation occurs. So long as the overall norms of activity and commitment are maintained in the movement, exceptions are permissible. If the norms should be undermined as a result of irregularities and inconsistencies in their application, then we must move firmly to reestablish them. There is one norm which our movement demands of everyone without exception and which cannot be violated without corrective action by the movement. Every comrade must be loyal to our movement. We can permit many exceptions to the requirements of membership but all of us must be patriots of the movement.

There is another side to the commitment required by the movement of our comrades. It is they who do the work of the movement, it is they who pay its bills. It is they who understand the goals of the movement best. Therefore it is our comrades and only our comrades who decide the direction of the movement and the tactics and strategies necessary to carry out our aims. While we wish to open up our movement and to make its operations a bit more transparent, for instance, by inviting contacts to our local meetings, the right of control of the movement by the comrades will be maintained.

## **Our Leadership**

Another example of the flexibility of our organizational concepts is the differences that will exist between the demands on the membership as a whole, and the demands on the leadership in particular. As we open up the doors of the youth movement somewhat, across the country, and as we recruit more and more radicals the role of our leadership will become even more important to us than it is now.

In this period we seldom recruit revolutionaries. As we grow this will become increasingly so and a large section of the youth movement will not be Trotskyist. It is therefore the task of the whole to make sure that it has a Trotskyist leadership which can preserve in its full clarity the Trotskyist program. **Comrades** who are developing and are moving into positions of leadership must be aware of their increasing responsibilities in this respect. The responsibility does not come with the act of election to a responsible post. It must grow day by day in our comrades. It is a process which never ceases, and certainly it does not cease after election to a position of leadership. It is the leaders who must set the standards of membership and be examples of those standards. Therefore the demands on them must be greater.

The key role and the understanding required of those who take on the responsibility of leadership means that we can and must demand a higher disciplinary standard for these comrades. For example, EC members cannot transfer around the country without the explicit permission of the Executive Council or between meetings of the EC, of the CEC. Further, while we might and do permit comrades to miss more than three local meetings without calling them sharply to account, we cannot permit this of the leadership. The tasks of the leadership are demanding. Our comrades must make sure that those who take it on, fulfil the obligations they have to the movement.

Our leadership is not a closed group. It is constantly changing. Some comrades in the leadership move into the Party while others rise from the ranks and assume leadership roles. All of our comrades should aspire to be leaders.

In conclusion then, we must understand what our organizational principles are and how to use them to achieve our political goals. In this period we must use them very flexibly. We must be open and free in our appeal to youth. We must drop all traces of an underground frame of mind. Our policy should not be openness where necessary but rather security only where necessary. With the points presented here in mind, we can draw many youth into the YS-LJS and we can train many revolutionaries.

*(end)*



## ON CONTACT WORK

Contact work is, or should be, an integral part of all our work. In all our external functions, our press and our activities, we are in constant touch with new people, and with contacts who are moving close to our movement. Especially now that we are moving towards a complete open face, right across the country, it is most important that we think of how we can orient best to our contacts, how to bring new people around us, and on what basis the YS should recruit in this coming period. Recruitment is the most important thing that the YS engages in. We can see then the attention we should give to contact work.

We must find new and attractive ways of appealing to youth. We want to reach out and find new people, because we can answer the questions facing youth, and bring them to our movement. We are meeting hard politicals, opponenet tendencies, or youth with sophisticated ideas, less and less, because of the vacuum on the left.

There has been a tendency in our movement to be highly insensitive to new contacts and to write people off if they don't respond favourably after a comrade gives the person the shots on historical materialism and the transitional program. One recent and important example of our insensitivity in dealing with new contacts is with draft dodgers. In spite of the fact that every comrade knows our position on this question, it is a mighty rare American, in this period, that we will convince to go back into the army. Rather, in by far the majority of cases, we should welcome them into the Canadian anti-war movement. Some of these people turn out to be good anti-war types and the odd one is a socialist. This is an example of one question that we don't have to give a hard political line on, when confronted with it.

70% of contact work is listening to the contact, finding out what his ideas are, what he thinks about our ideas and program, etc. You can't have a formalistic approach to contact work. Every person we come into contact with is different, and we have to have a sensitive approach, particularly with the new youth we have been attracting in the last period. Obviously, the youth we will be attracting will not have gone through extensive political experiences as have our more experienced comrades in the movement now. Hence, we will be recruiting on a broader level.

Contact work in the locals should be organized. Each local situation is different; however, if there is a contact committee and/or a coordinator, they should be able to give political direction to the local as a whole. The contact work of the local should be organized and coordinated through a contact committee preferably. The idea that the local should discuss each contact separately at local meetings and have constant reports on them is absurd, especially now that our movement is growing and we are more and more needing an efficient division of labor and political direction from the leadership of the locals. The contact committee should be in constant touch with the contacts, getting reports on new people, and in conjunction with the executive and local organizer, recruiting youth to our movement. This does not mean that the members of the contact committee are solely or even mainly responsible for doing individual contact work. It is the responsibility of every comrade to talk to youth, to sell our paper, and to bring people around our movement. They must be followed up consistently, brought out to forums, discussion groups, classes, socials, and integrated into our external work, particularly into anti-war committees.

Because we are not, on the whole, confronting political opponents, we have to orient to a much broader layer of youth than before. Our press and exter-

nal things like forums have to bridge the gap between us and the youth we can bring into our movement-youth who in the main have not been involved in direct political struggles-youth who question the system-youth whom we can lead in their struggles. Our press, our forums, and our external activities can be a real attractive force to these youth. Our movement can be really appealing to them, such that they'll join us.

We are not a tight, clandestine outfit-we are a legitimate force-the only one on the left, and we should have nothing to hide. We have to be more open, not just as an organization but with our ideas-our answers to capitalism. Comrades should develop a self-confidence in themselves. Any comrade knows more than a contact and should be open with our ideas.

Our movement can be dramatically attractive to youth. We should be much more sociable-take contacts out with us, involve them with us, make the YS an out-going movement.

Our literature and our press are an indispensable part of our work with contacts-comrades should be familiar with our basic literature and publications-it provides answers to anything a comrade doesn't already know. We could make up a list of pamphlets, magazines, and books, which are the most important for use in introducing socialist ideas to new people.

While the importance of developing oneself theoretically once you come into the movement is always stressed, we have to realize that we have to develop ourselves into rounded Marxist humanists-which means that we have to talk about much more than Marxist theory-we have to show contacts the Marxist outlook on life. Some of these things may appear less "political": anthropology, architecture, drama, motorcycles, art, guitars, science, music, LSD, love, etc. Actually all these things are political in certain ways. We have to develop ourselves into leading humanists, who can gain the respect and confidence of our contacts and periphery. We have to show people that we are interested in Life.

For all these reasons we have to make our movement more accessible, more open to increasing ranks of youth. For instance, (one thing we should do) is to invite close contacts to local meetings. Obviously it's pretty hard to make a decision whether or not to join our movement when you don't know what it's all about.

We have to recruit more aggressively-we have to bring more and more rebellious and radicalizing youth around us. Our movement will speak for itself. Everyone will know who we are and what we stand for. If they are attracted to our movement, they will ask to join. When contacts apply to join it usually means that they have already developed a certain commitment, and that they are serious. More and more of our contacts will take the initiative. I think this is what we want to see. Although we don't accept everyone who applies, we must challenge everyone with the necessity of joining the YS/LJS. The prospects for building our movement in the coming period are great.

## NOTES ON THE DRAFT ANTI-WAR RESOLUTION

One short-coming of the draft anti-war resolution is that it glosses over many of the difficulties in our anti-war work. "The prospects for the growth of the Canadian anti-war movement are excellent", it states. On the other hand, the document recognizes the narrowness of SAEWV, that some sections of the present movement would adopt a position of defending the Vietnamese revolution. It is projected however, that "with the increasing strength of the movement, forces which have hitherto abstained will likely move in, and challenge our program and leadership", although so far, as the document points out, other organizations have felt they could ignore the student committees. The question, then, is, how do we reconcile this perspective for growth with the fact that generally, where the student committees are really active, it is we who carry the work, and that the number of real "independents" is small. One could answer that it is just a question of time, of more work, reaching out to new people and integrating them. The anti-war resolution assumes this perspective and perhaps its authors feel that the statement that "In Canada the anti-war movement is still young, and small relative to the U.S. movement", is sufficient to explain a temporary weakness. But it is questionable that the only difference between the U.S. and Canadian movements is that ours was late starting. As the resolution states, "Canada's less direct involvement in the war has retarded the growth of the anti-war movement here relative to the U.S.",

If this is true, then the fact that "...the most important and viable area for anti-war work at the present time is in the student milieu", is the very reason why we cannot have all that optimistic a perspective for its growth. A student movement cannot flourish without a corresponding working-class ferment off-campus, in so far as, without perspective of mobilizing broad layers of the population against the war, a student movement can only be demoralized by its own impotence and either stagnate or go on an ultra-left binge, like the SUPA sit-in on Parliament Hill in March 1966. At least from this angle, the perspective for a student anti-war movement in Canada must be based on the assumption of the potential for a mass movement off-campus, against the war.

This is made clearer when we trace the evolution of the concept of the student movement. The anti-war resolution points out our real efforts to push the NDP into the leadership of the anti-war movement, but points out that the abstention of the NDP and trade union leaderships does not block the growth of a mass movement. And also that with the default of the NDP, a movement based on single-issue committees, which might then grow to drag the NDP along, was a correct perspective. This view is based on the assumption that the NDP is failing to mobilize the existing mass anti-war sentiment and that it is our task to bypass the NDP to form a single-issue movement. The only trouble was that the real base of the anti-war movement at first was the CP-liberal-pacifist clique who could not be convinced to form single-issue committees for fear of losing control of the movement, but there were not enough "independents" around, presumably because of the failure of the CP and others to go out and find them, to form committees anyway, and force the others to come along. The example of the UBC VDC indicated a possible solution.

The wider extent of opposition to the war among students did give us the possibility of forming membership committees here, and the mood of the student radicals enabled us to carry our political line in the committee. The VDC was able to present itself as a force in the anti-war movement that could bypass the old radical movements with more dynamic activity and a less tear-jerking pacifist orientation, which had possibilities of making real inroads into the direction



of being a vehicle for forcing our orientation for the anti-war movement down the throats of the CP and other groups. We projected applying this orientation on a national level, attempting to use the student movement as a bridge to the mass movement. In fact, though, can it be said that this perspective has been borne out?

On the one hand, has the student movement grown to the extent that it can bypass the old radical groups, and on the other, have new forces been brought into city committees which would inspire the student movement to further growth with tangible signs of having laid down the road to a mass movement in Canada against the war?

If we continue to follow this model, and it is not accurate, then we will end up substituting our movement for the anti-war movement. For instance, the July 1 action was considered to be an opportunity to reach out to broad new layers of the population. The fact that a mobilization at EXPO is very difficult to carry out in a country the size of Canada, or the fact that July 1 is a difficult date to organize for in view of the NDP-NDY conventions, the fact that many people are out of town and that it is preceded by high school exams, are all only incidental problems. Every demonstration has its inevitable snags. The real question is, whether, with the opposition of the CP and other liberals to this action, it will really come off as the biggest Canadian action yet. To what extent have we had to carry the work ourselves, and how much of a strain has it been on our forces? And if it is a major mobilization, to what extent will it be attributable to the special situation in Quebec, rather than reflecting the national strength of the movement? West of Ontario at least, we have not been able to mount anything on the scale envisioned. In Edmonton and Vancouver, the main projection is leafletting on Canada's role in the war, rather than a mass mobilization. We are not aware of anything happening on the prairies. It is harder to gauge the Toronto situation exactly from here, but we assume that we are doing most of the work for it. On the other hand, the fourteen busloads headed for Montreal, reported in the Vanguard, do not rate with the numbers which went to Ottawa in March 1966. Though we may be able to evaluate the action better after it happens, it may not be off-base to say that posing this as the largest action yet may have been seriously over-reaching ourselves.

The correctness of this type of action must be based on the assumption that the fact that we are taking the lead in the action is not reflective of a permanent weakness of the movement, but a temporary transition phase from which we will pass to more massive participation, that is, on the assumption that a mass movement exists, which just has to be reached, if necessary, by an all-out effort on our part. The July 1 action will either show a major turn towards a mass anti-war movement in Canada, or at least the possibility of this, or that this kind of action is too bold at the present time.

Actions like this and the November 11 action are much more difficult to build into successful actions than are International Days of Protest. Other tendencies cannot ignore these days because of the considerable coverage they get, even if nothing happens in Canada, and also if we don't mobilize great masses, it still does not detract from the enthusiasm of the march as part of a world demonstration. Further, the greater impact of demonstrations on IDP's is a most attractive feature to new people, who might not feel that an isolated Canadian action is all that significant in the absence of a mass movement. If this is so, then SAEWV's main emphasis between KSP's should be more educational; e.g., July 1 could have been used to give wide circulation to a "Centennial" CVN. SAEWV should print pamphlets and distribute literature, sponsor cross-country tours, summer park-speak-

ing, etc., things which a small movement can do with an orientation towards preparing for a mass movement in Canada without that immediate perspective. The suggestion of urging affiliation of groups such as the NDY and SUPA with SAEWV, and a general united front orientation to these groups where they exist would be important in strengthening SAEWV at this time. United front committees (coordinating committees) off-campus, with independent committees a component more than the base of the actions, is still a necessary tactic. Educational work would be directed especially towards the growth of NDP and trade union committees on Vietnam.

In conclusion, the main point of this contribution is to bring into question the concept of the student movement as a bridge to the mass movement in Canada, and to suggest that the Canadian situation is more similar to that of Europe in terms of the lack of direct life and death pressures for a mass movement though more similar to the U.S. in terms of the level of social consciousness of the working class. For these reasons the student anti-war movement should be considered more a barometer of ferment in the colonial world and its reflection in the North American Negro and Quebec freedom struggles, of impending radicalization in white English Canada, and hence its more limited perspectives. On the other hand, the international aspects of the war allow for this to be our most fruitful area of work in Canada in reaching new people.



## **IN REPLY TO COMRADE FRAZER**

(By J. Crandall) (*John R.*) (DB Vol. 3 No. 11 July 1967)

In her "Contribution to the Discussion of the Political Resolution", comrade Frazer (Jean R.) has raised some important ideas and has laid the groundwork for a fine discussion at the convention. In this contribution I would like to take up some of the questions she raises with a view towards some clarification of the main ideas under discussion as we go into the convention.

Comrade Frazer has raised important criticisms of the general direction projected in the Draft Political Resolution (PR). She puts forward a very significant proposal: that the newly-launched open movement should call for the formation by all radical youth tendencies of a federated youth movement, which would support the NDP.

Comrade Frazer supports the call of the PR for an open organization. But she sees three specific dangers in applying this decision. First, she says, "when the working class is relatively quiet, the NDP is conservative, and the NDY (New Democratic Youth) practically dead, it is particularly difficult to explain our working class orientation to youth." Second, where the PR sees a vacuum on the left affording us a unique opportunity to win youth directly to ourselves, comrade Frazer warns that this "lack of an organization which includes the whole youth left (as the YND once did) mainly increases our isolation, both from young radicals and from youth generally," In comrade Frazer's opinion, there is an identifiable vanguard of radical youth in Canada, toward which we should orient. Furthermore, "in terms of recruitment, the most important section of the vanguard consists of the other political tendencies and their periphery – particularly the CP youth and the new left." Thirdly, she claims, "the desire for unity of radical youth is widespread", and "our establishment of a public organization could appear as a further division of the left."

In the light of these considerations she proposes that "our objective in launching an open organization should be to establish a dialogue with other tendencies in the youth left and to cut across the red-baiting of the NDY right wing."

Specifically, comrade Frazer proposes we call for a federated youth movement to support the NDP, (in a recent letter, Frazer amends this to "federated youth movement affiliated to the NDP") to include all left youth tendencies in Canada. This movement would lead united action on the whole range of political activities: student struggles, antiwar actions, strike support action, etc.

### **On Presenting Our Working Class Orientation**

Comrade Frazer's proposal for a federated youth movement is aimed first at overcoming the problem of making the working class political perspective understandable to youth. She points out how the decline of the NDY has shoved this question to the fore. But of course this problem is even more deeply rooted. Even at its best the NDY was a poor substitute for a viable NDP youth movement – it was never

activist, never had a broadly based membership, and from the start was plagued with a permanent witch hunt against the left. And the NDP itself, in spite of its strength and broad social base, is not very attractive to radical youth at present – not after they catch the smell of its right wing program and bureaucratic organization.

Frazer's original proposal, as it appears in the document, calls for a movement which will **support** the NDP – but not, necessarily, be a constituent part of it. This would hardly solve the problem of opening the road of working class politics to youth. The YS, for example, supports the NDP, but is excluded from it – and a similar fate would surely befall Frazer's federated movement. She has since clarified that her proposal refers to a movement which, through affiliation, would be organically linked to the NDP – would be in fact the NDP youth movement.

Frazer admits herself that the NDP leadership will not agree to such a proposal. They would hardly look with favor on allowing a grab-bag of socialist tendencies including ourselves to federate into the party or acquire a dominant position in the youth. They have made it clear that they will only permit an NDP youth organization that is under their control -- and they are not particularly interested in building **any** kind of activist youth movement at this time.

Surely to mobilize the socialist tendencies for a federated autonomous NDY is an exercise in futility. Its only result will be to show up the NDP leadership once more in the eyes of these radicals. But our whole problem, the whole problem that Frazer describes is that radical youth are only too aware of the conservativeness of the NDP, and too inclined to conclude that there is no role for them in it. If we were to persuade them to approach the NDP for a federated autonomous youth movement, the reception they would receive would only reinforce their conviction that to speak of radical action through the NDP and the unions is a romantic fantasy. We must find ways to link up their struggles with the struggles of labour. Neither the NDY nor any substitute for it offers this perspective at this time. We need to seek roads to the labour movement that evade the dead-end of NDY politics. We can find, for example, opportunities to mobilize youth directly in support of labour struggles, or in opposition to the victimization of labour leaders. We can carry support actions for the NDP independent of the bureaucracy -- for example, by mobilizing youth in election campaigns in a specific riding where our participation will be welcome, or even by making ourselves a coordinating and social center for youth working in ridings across the city. Such actions can be done independently or on a united front basis. We can greet and move into any initiative of the right wing leadership to revive its youth work. And, of course, we must maintain the key position of the NDP in our socialist propaganda.

But while the NDP orientation will continue to play a key role in our work, we should not waste too much time weeping over the NDY. We cannot create a mass NDY, whatever we do. And while the decline of the NDY poses problems, it also poses tremendous opportunities for us, taken together with the weakness of other tendencies it poses tremendous opportunities for us, which our open movement can meet in coming months.

### **An Orientation to the Vanguard?**

Comrade Frazer's proposal would orient us to the vanguard of youth to be found, in her opinion, in and around the radical youth tendencies. It is of course true to say that we are orienting to a "vanguard", in the sense that we aim to recruit the most advanced

and most radical youth into our organization. But our experience across Canada does not bear out Frazer's opinion that the most important section of the "vanguard" can be found in other political tendencies and their periphery.

The statements of the Political Resolution about a "vacuum on the left" do not imply the absence of opponent tendencies. It does describe the relative weakness of these tendencies. None of them has built a cohesive Canada-wide organization. In spite of the superficial appeal of their politics to many radical youth, none of them has succeeded in organizing substantial numbers of youth, or in building a substantial cadre. None of them contain any substantial left-ward moving forces. As comrade Jansson put it, these tendencies are reputations rather than organizations. The overwhelming majority of youth who have become involved in radical politics have not attached themselves to any tendency. We even find organized groupings of uncommitted radicals (like the Halifax League for Social Action or the Vancouver "Internationalists." And even more, we find youth who have come in contact with radical politics but have not found the road to organized involvement in any grouping or movement. We cannot yet match the reputation of our opponents -- a reputation which derives in part from history (e.g., the CP), in part from the policies of the mass media (e.g., the new left), in part from our own lack of an open organization. But as the PR points out, we are in a stronger competitive position in terms not only of our program but of our organizational strength. Far from appearing as just one more radical youth tendency, we will be the only tendency with a Canada-wide organization, with a program of any description, with a well known nationally-circulated publication.

For six years the YS has worked primarily within other movements -- first the NDY (*New Democratic Youth*), more recently the antiwar movement. With the growth of our forces and the decline of the NDY, the time has clearly come for the launching of our open movement. But the PR goes a step further than this. Because of the "vacuum on the left", the PR states our open organization can be not merely one of several competing political tendencies, but the predominant organization of young socialists in Canada. While this situation persists, we can take advantage of the vacuum to attract radicalizing youth, past the other tendencies, directly to ourselves.

This means that the primary orientation of the open YS will not be to radicals in other tendencies, but to uncommitted youth. It means that we must take upon ourselves the task of the basic socialist propaganda among radicalizing youth. It means that the majority of our contacts, as they have in the past period, will come to us without any previous commitment to another radical tendency. If the open YS moves to open a dialogue with opponent tendencies, this will not be its top priority. The main purpose will be to take advantage of their present disarray to establish and strengthen our hegemony as "the Young Socialists" of Canada.

### **The Problem of Unity of the Left**

Frazer comments on "the frustration and cynicism of student radicals around the fragmentation of the left" and their widespread desire for unity of the left. Surely we are all familiar with the near-universal distaste of young radicals for splits and sectarianism, and their desire for unity. Even if the problem of reaching out to supporters of opponent tendencies is not primary, we must have an answer to the question of unity, to give to all those who come around our movement. The answer comrade Frazer proposes to give is the call for a federated youth movement.

This is a subject to be approached with great caution. (We) are by no means unconditionally in favor of the organic unity of all radical tendencies in one movement. We recognize that our program and the program of the reformist and Stalinist tendencies are pulling in opposite directions: toward revolution and towards mobilizing the workers in support of capitalism. Our historic task, as we know, is the construction of independent revolutionary parties, winning away the advanced workers from class collaborationist leaderships. We are in favor of the united action of the working class -- but only exceptionally of their unity in one organization. We

work for united fronts of the working class, of the radical movement, through which the revolutionaries can maintain their independence, their freedom of criticism. We are also in favor of the separate organization of revolutionaries in parties with full Marxist programs.

We have advocated and worked for the NDP, and its youth section the NDY, because, as Canada's labour party, the NDP is a necessary and progressive step by the Canadian working class to class consciousness. Even here, the NDP is a stage in the development of political consciousness of Canadian workers. With the radicalization of the working class, we will work to pull the politicized workers away from the NDP's reformist leadership and a revolutionary alternative, and thus lay the groundwork for building a revolutionary party here in Canada. All this is familiar to us all. But it is worth re-emphasizing that the only political movement we are interested in building, other than ourselves, is the NDP. We must also remember that our NDP orientation does not imply an identical orientation to the NDY. The NDY is not a mass movement. It does not contain the vanguard of radical youth. It is not certain -- it not even likely that the radicalization of youth will occur through the NDY. Today, as a federal organization it does not even exist! As the Political Resolution points out, the nature of our support for the NDY, or a parallel formation, is highly conditional on the NDY's strength, direction, and many other factors.

As we have seen, Frazer's proposal makes little sense as an initiative to building an NDP youth movement. How does it rate as a means of explaining and popularizing our position on the need for unity in action of the left. Our movement has had a good deal of experience in dealing with this question. One example is that of the regroupment experience following the shake-up of Stalinism in 1956. At that time we saw, in a number of countries, large numbers of ex-CPers moving to the left, pulling away from the anti-Trotskyist bogies, and taking a stand, among other things, for unity of the left. It is instructive to see how we went about approaching these radicals. We specifically did **not propose** an all-inclusive socialist party. The Socialist Workers Party (*USA, co-thinkers of the LSA* –ed.) summed up its approach to regroupment as follows:

"The Socialist Workers Party had the distinct merit of knowing what it hoped to achieve in the regroupment. Its position was presented for public consideration at the outset of the shake-up ... in a pamphlet, 'Regroupment: A Programmatic Basis for Discussion of Socialist Unity.'

"The statement contained three main points. (1) It emphasized the SWP's willingness to engage in full and frank discussion on any questions of concern to the socialist movement with anyone interested in reorganizing the revolutionary socialist forces. (2) It set forth a twelve-point program as its contribution to this discussion. (3) It proposed that where agreement on specific issues could be reached, common actions should be taken as indispensable preparation for any more advanced organizational conclusions to the regroupment process."

The SWP knew what it was trying to do: to win these drifting radicals to the program of Trotskyism – through individual recruitment or through fusion with whatever revolutionary tendency might develop. They proposed a programmatic discussion and united-front common actions – but they did not present a federation of the left as either possible or desirable. At the end of this statement, the SWP enumerated the possibilities for radicals: enter the fold of the CP, the social democracy, the Democratic Party, sit on the sidelines, or – the real alternative – work with or join the SWP.

Where does Frazer's proposal fit into this approach? The "Federation" is no united front on specific issues. Its joint activities span the whole range of radical action: united discussion – but also initiation and carrying of the student struggles, of youth action against the Vietnam war, of support for labour struggles, etc. It is, as she correctly terms it, a "Movement", leading youth action on all issues. If there were some realistic possibility of building a broad democratic activist NDY at this time, such a proposal would be merely a restatement of the slogan "Join and build the NDY." But the road of

the NDY is now closed off – and almost all radicals know it – and the logic of the proposal leads in a different direction.

What our contacts and opponents will tend to see in the Frazer proposal is above all the concept of bringing all the rival youth tendencies into a common movement with a common minimum program of action. Given the absence of a mass NDY, this is the last thing we want today. Such a movement, if it ever materialized, would force us to subordinate our independent actions to all the whims and failings of our opponents, subordinating our activity to the difficult task of holding the fragile coalition together, and working to build an organization which would in fact be a substitute for a revolutionary socialist youth movement. Far from opening the door to the radicalizing layers of youth, it would throw us in a cage with the disoriented, rotten, discredited and isolated groupings that masquerade under the political labels of Maoism, Communism, the new left and the NDP. As the Political Resolution states, we are not going to waste our time building a centrist hodgepodge. A "federated youth movement" of this type is the last thing we want and the last thing comrade Frazer would advocate. But in a certain sense, there are indications that this is the direction her proposal tends to lead us in.

Frazer's proposal tends to approach the whole problem backwards. Rather than open the dialogue with programmatic proposals, and proposals for united front action, she wishes to open it with a call for organic unity – with no programmatic preconditions! - except the impossible one of being part of the NDP. We are to propose that a federated movement undertake the whole range of public actions of the youth left – with no prior discussion of the program such an organization is to have!

A number of organizations and tendencies who have raised proposals akin to this: organizational unity without programmatic agreement. Numerous elements of the new left call for "federated politics" -- that all tendencies should join in united action, and let the program evolve out of experience. The CP wants to found a united movement of "progressive youth", with a minimum program. The *Canadian Dimension* group looks to a united movement whose only programmatic commitment is to Canadian independence. NDY centrists see the NDY as an all-inclusive movement – based upon programmatic subordination to the NDP.

The question of program is the nub of our quarrel with these tendencies. We reject the concept of the new left that elaboration of a program will come naturally out of organizing experience. We reject the position of those who would dump the programmatic struggle in the NDP and NDY. We refuse to subordinate program to organizational unity. Our proposal on the question of unity of the left must be such as to raise the question of program to the fore, and to give us experience in common actions with the rank and file of other tendencies without weakening our independent existence.

### **The Unity Proposal of the Communist Party**

The question of the unity of the left has been concretely posed before the Convention by the initiative of the Communist Party in calling for the formation of an all-inclusive radical youth organization with a minimum program acceptable to various tendencies. It is not yet clear just what kind of organization they have in view. But in answering this call, I believe we must follow a direction quite close to that of the SWP and SEL in "regroupment" after 1956. First, we should unequivocally welcome this call



for unity and dialogue on the left, and state our desire to participate in the dialogue in united actions. (We should at the same time strongly protest the exclusionary procedure of the CP in excluding us from their Montreal conference.) Secondly, we should present our own programmatic position for the consideration of participants in such a discussion - perhaps in the form of a critique of the CP's programmatic proposals contained in the *Canadian Tribune* (the CP's journal – Ed.). Thirdly, we should propose and stand ready to participate in united front actions of the left. A vast spectrum of issues exist for such proposals – from united antiwar actions to united campaigns for student democracy. (Our advocacy of such united front action should not, however, be permitted to stand in the way of the unfolding of our own program of open activities.)

We need take no position on whether a united **movement** is advisable until specific proposals are put forward, and the launching of such a movement takes shape.

The participation of our U.S. co-thinkers in the foundation of the Du Bois Clubs in 1964 is an example of how this can be done. Youth elements around the CP put out a call for a conference of progressive youth to found a new, united, broad, militant youth movement, independent of all adult political parties. It was obvious to our comrades that the call was a sham, a smoke-screen for the foundation of a CP-controlled youth group. Rather (than) publicly write off the conference in advance, they took no position, waiting to see what kind of program and organization the conference would produce. A large YSA contingent was therefore able to attend, and to rally a left tendency, force the CPers into a series of undemocratic maneuvers, and finally into an exclusionist measure which led to the walk-out of the YSAers together with all the best forces.

If a genuine dialogue among left tendencies develops, we will have no difficulty showing why the kind of unity and the kind of organization the CP and new left advocate will not advance the cause of socialism. Ultimately the only united movement we can advocate is the NDP-NDY. Barring that, we must stand by the need for united **action**, and organizational unity of the **revolutionary socialists** under the banner of the YS and LJS.

## SAEWV, PERSPECTIVES AND DISCUSSION

This is a short contribution to the anti-war discussion. It does not attempt to be all inclusive but merely proposes a line of action and some suggestions for activity.

SAEWV is new and thus the direction it will have has not yet been fully worked out. Because it is new it has not yet made itself felt across the country. I think we are somewhat unsure about where we are going from here to develop a national student anti-war movement and thus this discussion is necessary. Comrades should not consider it a criticism of the very fine work they have been doing so far.

Before the setting up of SAEWV Toronto had established itself as the center of the Student anti-war movement by issuing calls for action publishing discussion bulletins, making posters and buttons and sending Karen on a national tour. We should continue to do these things and more. SAEWV should make itself felt in the real life of anti-war committees all across the country. No committees should be in a position of questioning why SAEWV exists, we should show them with actions the value of a national organization. In fact SAEWV must be a bold, viable national organization. It is necessary to move out even more audaciously and directly.

Isolated in Vancouver we sometimes get the feeling that the rest of Canada doesn't exist. Regional barriers must be broken down by common actions, ties and co-ordination. Every committee affiliated to SAEWV should have a SAEWV reporter and SAEWV should be aware of who these people are and keep in constant touch with them about what the committees are doing and what difficulties the committees are having. SAEWV SHOULD AS SOON AS POSSIBLE HAVE A Central office and from that office act as a center of advice and aid to the individual committees. SAEWV should have in the center lists of films that are available, should know when they are available and their source and cost so that committees may order them. They should also have lists of speakers and their addresses and preferably would know whether and when these people are available. This would involve sending speakers a questionnaire over the summer period and obtaining this information beforehand and would also entail the committees notifying the central office if they have invited someone on the list.

Suggestions for activities made to the committees should also include information and suggestions on organization, eg. (speak outs, lecture series) and possibly a suggested theme or topic(s). These suggestions are intended to help the individual committees overcome the agonies and duplication of some of their organizational work.

SAEWV should act as a center of literature distribution, publish its own pamphlets etc. as it has begun to do. It can also initiate national fund raising projects in its own name. SAEWV should also act as a center for the distribution of literature on the War Crimes Tribunal to the student committees.

For example, it could make up posters with a catchy slogan or picture related to the war (such as the San Francisco has done) and sell them for 50¢ or a dollar. Buttons can also be used this way. The SAEWV button is a good step in the right direction.

Other activities are perhaps a national film tour, if suitable films are available, with individual committees splitting the cost. This would be particularly valuable in the fall when committees need to raise some funds.

National tours such as Karens are extremely valuable and at least one tour of a comrade representing SAEWV (either locally or preferably centrally) should be planned in the coming student year. I'm sure the organizational difficulties of such a tour can be overcome in light of its value.

The possibility of other speaking tours by people such as Donald Duncan should be looked into and a couple of these tours should, if possible, be arranged for the next student year in co-operation with the local committees.

When calling for a Student Days of Protest we should arrive at a theme for the Protest and adopt a suggested series of actions as well as state the specific purpose of such action.

When an International Day of Protest is announced we should also give a report of the international anti-war movement, and an analysis of the recent happenings in the war itself.

#### On Our Method of Action in SAEWV

In the student committees our comrades are in the forefront. They are the leaders of the respective ctees. and as such are also the leaders in SAEWV.

We must be aware of this fact and be somewhat sensitive because of it. The openness with which we conduct SAEWV is admirable and should be continued. Debates within the bulletin on future actions, policies etc., are generally educational and should continue to be carried as they are in an educational way when such debates arise. SAEWV council meetings should also be prepared to discuss ideas contrary to ours in an educational way. I think we are capable of explaining ourselves well and of winning any such debate on the strength of our ideas. We should not allow, however, such a debate to overshadow the initiation of bold actions.

When people suggest moving the anti-war movement into social work we must defend its protest character as being necessary to its growth and effectiveness, but on the other hand should not shy away from new ideas that may have some value. We should push these ideas in the direction we want them to go or discuss how we can amend them to make them a suitable action for the antiwar movement.

For example when certain elements propose a sit-in in front of a plant, rather than defeating the idea we should try to direct it in the direction we would like it to go. We should make it an informational leafletting of a plant after contacting the union. I see nothing particularly wrong with a sit-in at the CIL head office where the action is directed against the bosses. This might better be posed as an similar action at the Department of Defense Production or offices of the Canadian Commercial Corporation, if that is feasible.

#### On Our Method of Mobilizing for Demonstrations

Vancouver, where the largest Canadian demonstrations have been held has followed the policy of trying to get representation from as broad forces as possible.

We have no real continuing co-ordinating committee and therefore have set up mobilization committees for specific actions such as the Spring Mobilization Ctee for April 15.

These mobilization committees are set up at a meeting that has been well advertised, all groups are informed and all people opposed to the war are invited to attend. Any group opposed to the war is allowed a representative on the committee, and individuals who are prepared to do the work involved may also stand.

At all times we defend the all-inclusive nature of the mobilization committee and the mobilization itself with each group or individual having the right to carry their own slogans. The organisational details of the mobilization are worked out within the mob. ctee. and we are prepared to give in on small organisational details

in order to retain the united front character of the mob. Before each demonstration we work to make it the broadest demonstration ever. With the mob ctees we are able somewhat to bypass the older peace groups but at the same time mobilize most of their forces in support of the demos. SAEWV should try as much as possible to make itself a broad united front by inviting SUPA, the Internationalists, etc, to affiliate to it, but should also recognize that it is not yet a united front and is in fact only part of the antiwar movement. I do not think we are in a strong enough position that we can ignore other groups opposed to the war.

I think local student ctees. should participate in united front actions and strive to make them as broad as possible. Our struggle for a non-exclusionist policy in the anti-war movement will win many new recruits to our antiwar ctees. and directly to ourselves.

In this context we should pose the idea of student mobilization committees composed of groups like the NDY, SUPA, SCM, etc, where they exist, and our committees.



submitted by Ian A.

1. The expansion of YSF has been more than justified by the response the new size has received. Sales have increased (at least in Ottawa), and the general appearance of the magazine has improved 100%. The new format complements the new direction for YSF projected by the 1967 Convention: it eliminates the "subversive little magazine" look the old YSF had. Significantly, the majority of sales continue to be to non-affiliated youth, rather than to the tight little circles of aimless radicals who inhabit the lounges of every campus. The overall success of the sub drive (in Ottawa we were able to top our quota with very little effort) indicates the appeal YSF now has.
2. The change in direction has not, however, been altogether successful. While the appearance of the magazine meets our requirements, there are still shortcomings in its content. These notes are written on the assumption (completely valid, I believe) that our tasks remain essentially the same as those outlined in the 1967 Political Resolution, that our audience has not changed, that we are trying to reach the same people - though with the upsurge of the student power movement, this audience may well be larger than it was twelve months ago.)
3. YSF's appeal is to the broad layer of radicalizing youth - those who have become involved to some extent in the radical movement, and those who are just beginning to question capitalist society. We work to lend substance to their incipient radicalism, to provide them with a factual and theoretical context - revolutionary Marxism - which will enable them effectively to oppose the system. We aim to commit them to action for socialism, and to win them to the ranks of the YS/LJS.
4. Because our audience is so broad, YSF must approach them at a number of levels. Cannon, in Letters From Prison, discusses the fatal weakness of the pioneering socialist paper Appeal to Reason - its failure to do more than develop a basic anti-capitalist sentiment. Thus, while it played a major role in "making radicals", its simplistic propaganda was unable to hold an audience. Radicalizing workers quickly outgrew Appeal, and either sought other publications and organizations, or dropped away. We could have this problem in a mild way. We are extremely fortunate in having the Vanguard and ISR available to us, though my impression is that we don't utilize them nearly enough. (There hasn't been an ad for ISR in YSF since the "Movement is Born" issue - we should plug ISR regularly, with a list of the current contents). However, there is a vast field of potential articles with a definite appeal to our audience, which we have not tapped. The discussion on content here, then, is predicated on the assumption that our overall approach has been correct, and that the type of articles that have been pre-eminent will continue to be so - these are proposals for expanding YSF's content range.
5. We have been weakest in our coverage of the colonial revolution. The rebellion of the third world has been, and will remain, a central factor in the radicalization of youth in Canada. We must identify ourselves more as the supporters of this revolution. This means dealing regularly with its character, direction and causes. It means identifying ourselves with the revolutionary forces - the Che article is an example. There are many ways in which this can be done. Articles on Cuba, particularly those contrasting the achievements of the revolution with the bankruptcy of the oligarchies, are valuable. Articles dealing with specific countries, especially those in which insurgent forces are operating. In this re-



302  
rev  
spect, interviews can be a good way of stating the revolutionary position and identifying ourselves with the revolution - these can often be reprinted from Granma and Tricontinental. There is an immense amount of interest and discussion, particularly on the university campuses, on the colonial revolution; our demonstrated support for it and our coverage of it can play an important role in maintaining our position as the socialists, the revolutionaries.

6. We have carried one book review in the past year. This must be corrected. The advantage of a book review is two-fold - it enables us to discuss topics which might otherwise be hard to pose in YSF, and it leads the reader beyond YSF to other material which we feel it is important for our readers to read. The nature of, and response to, the Mandel review indicate this pragmatically. We should review the important pamphlets and books published by Merit and by the Canadian section. Other publishers (notably Monthly Review and Evergreen) are publishing valuable works relating to the colonial revolution, and reviews of these books, when they relate to topics we want to discuss, should be carried - this can expand our colonial revolution coverage. Perhaps a regular book review page or column can be established - this is one type of column that would go well in a bi-monthly. The most important books should get full articles.

7. We have tended to steer away from "theoretical" articles, with the idea that such material does not appeal to our readers, or that it is not YSF's function to deal with it. However, our expanding campus audience reduces the validity of these arguments. We are not, of course, interested in the sort of thing that ISR carries - but we must remember that virtually every university student who reads YSF (the majority seem to be first year students) is required to study the garbage that the bourgeoisie calls "sociology", "political science", and "economics". We can find popular ways of presenting the Marxist answer to professorial obscurantism in these fields - particularly in regard to class questions. In this field again, book reviews might well be used.

History  
the truth  
8. In our articles on the school system, we have repeatedly stressed the fact that bourgeois education distorts and hides the real truth about the past and the present. Would it not be more effective to use this fact as a starting point for articles actually presenting the truth? This can be done in innumerable fields, from English to History. Slamming the high schools as part of another article would seem to be preferable to our usual "schools are terrible" articles. We should look for more opportunities to kill two birds with one article.

9. We should do some research to see how many of our readers also read the Militant and/or the Young Socialist. At one time these were indispensable additions to our work, but this is almost certainly less true now, especially with the Vanguard appearing bi-weekly and covering more material. If this is true, and our audience in Canada, with a few exceptions (probably mainly comrades and close sympathizers) does not read the American publications, then we should be less wary of reprinting articles from them on occasion. I am thinking especially of the European interviews in the YS and the articles on Cuba by Harry Ring in the Militant. This would be exceptional when we do it - but it can provide articles we wouldn't have otherwise.

10. Our well-founded reluctance to have "theme" issues should be relaxed. An issue built around a specific theme can be immensely varied in content. SCAN of course has every issue as a "theme" issue, to the detriment of an

already poor magazine - but their "morality" issue shows the wide variety that can occur in a theme issue. In particular, I suggest an issue, for the opening of school in the fall, built around the theme "the struggle is international". Articles would deal with the international socialist youth movement, and could include: one on Europe (perhaps by a comrade who has been there, e.g. Mary-Alice of the YSA?); one on the situation in Latin America, drawing on the Cuban experience; one on Vietnam identifying with the NLF; and one on North America, particularly dealing with the anti-war and student power movements and the growth of the YS/LJS after one year giving our perspective in Canada. Theme issues should be few and far between, but they can, if well planned, give our work an extra boost by dealing at length with important issues we might otherwise leave aside.

11. Whatever happened to our plans to carry historical articles? Developing a sense of the tradition of revolutionary action is vital.

Using and expanding our press.

12. Our press is valueless unless it is circulated and read. This truism bears repetition if only because three areas were far behind in their sub drive quotas. Since no local had a quota of more than 6-7 subs per comrade, the goal should have been exceeded far more than it was. YSF-consciousness, sales-consciousness, is the primary responsibility of every local executive, of every comrade. In Ottawa, and in other areas as far as I can tell, there are a few comrades who carry the bulk of the sales. Selling is everyone's responsibility - there is no comrade who can't sell to some extent. Any expansion of YSF must be geared to increased utilization.

13. There are two possible directions for the expansion of YSF - either more pages or greater frequency. Given the present level of Canadian youth radicalism it would seem that the correct direction at this time is towards more pages. A more frequent magazine will become necessary as we have more opportunity and more need to intervene rapidly in the radical movement, in the activities of other organizations, and so on. It implies a magazine much more oriented to current topics and to debates of the movement. The overall direction of YSF at this time is, correctly, to more "timeless" articles. If we can expand, it should be to a thicker magazine. An immediate expansion, coupled to a price increase, might be considered. A 28-page YSF selling for 25¢ seems reasonable. The price increase would not, in all probability, seriously affect our sales. There is practically no magazine, except for comic books, which sells for 15¢, and people are accustomed to paying more. However, the precise impact this would have will have to be considered by the CEC.

14. We should look for ways of involving our readers in our work, through our press. For example, we should project a "literary supplement" to YSF. In the magazine we can appeal to our readers for poetry, etc., to appear in such a supplement. The result, printed inexpensively (offset, typewritten, newsprint) would go free to all subscribers and be sold separately from the magazine. There are a couple of recognized poets who might well contribute. If the response warrants it, the supplement could appear more than once, on an occasional basis. The value of this type of thing is obvious.

15. Our use of the Vanguard still lacks conviction. In particular, the Vanguard should receive articles on developments in the youth field, particularly campus events. Many of our communication problems can be settled simply by ensuring that all important activities are reported to the press of the LSA/LSO.

# YS/LJS DISCUSSION BULLETIN

VOL. 4  
NO. 1

JUNE  
1968

## CONTENTS :

- (A) 1. Canadian Universities and Our Student Work - submitted as a resolution by the CEC
- (B) 2. Introduction to the Pre-Convention Discussion - J. Frazer
- (C) 3. Political Resolution (adopted 1967) (10pp)
- (D) 4. Our University Work (adopted 1967) (5pp)
- (E) 5. Anti-War Resolution (adopted 1967) (duplicate - See 1967 B) (June B)

10pp

8pp

30¢

## **CANADIAN UNIVERSITIES AND OUR STUDENT WORK**

(Submitted as a resolution by the CEC – YS/LJS DB Vol. 4 No. 1 June 1968)

Over the past academic year student militancy clearly increased. Anti-war committees developed on almost every campus and more students participated in anti-war mobilizations than ever before. The increase in student participation laid the basis for the student anti-war movement to relate its activities directly to the campuses. Campus complicity issues became the most recurring student power struggles.

Students demonstrated a greater willingness to fight against particularly gross examples of bureaucratic injustice and capitalist profiteering on the campus. Student struggles over such issues hit a large proportion of the campuses and the slogan “Student Power” became a common term on the universities.

These developments are the continuation of a process which has been going on in the universities over the past few years. In English Canada it can be traced back to the response of students to the struggle of the black nation in the U.S. to actions such as the Selma demonstrations in Ontario — and to the impact on students of the Cuban revolution. In Quebec this process began after the death of Duplessis and the inauguration of the quiet revolution. It is clear that the impact of the colonial revolution remains the key factor in the radicalization of Canadian students. As and when the revolution moves forward in the advanced capitalist and workers' states, this too will play a key role in the radicalization of students in Canada. These facts alone, however, do not give us a rounded understanding of the student movement in Canada.

At what level is the Canadian student movement now and where is it headed? The most outstanding feature of Canadian university students as a whole is their backwardness compared to students in Western Europe and even of the United States. In West Germany, for example, the students are led by SDS, a radical anti-capitalist organization, and Rudi Dutschke, its leader, has the support of 1/3 of the students according to bourgeois polls. German students are able to carry coordinated inter-campus struggles against state policies. In France the students can move in unison to occupy their schools and these actions, as we have seen, can meet with a revolutionary response from the French working class. Just by citing these examples it becomes clear that Canadian students are not on this plane at all.

### **WHY IS THE STUDENT MOVEMENT BACKWARD IN CANADA?**

It is not enough to show that the student movement is backward. We must know why it is backward. The reasons become clear when we examine the situations in Western Europe and the U.S.A. In Europe the working class has more than once openly confronted the power of the ruling class. Stalinist and social democratic parties have long been mass parties of the working class and have traditionally drawn sizable student forces around them. Thus, in spite of their reformism, they have played a powerful role in politicizing a whole layer of students and turning them towards the working class. When the colonial revolution developed — especially the Algerian, Cuban and Vietnamese revolutions — there existed a layer from which a leadership and the basis of a movement could be forged, steeped in the traditions of proletarian struggle. In contrast the North American student movement has no such traditions. In the U.S.A. there is no party of the working class and the student movement has been hampered as a result.

The sharp contradictions in U.S. society flowing from the war and the struggle of the black nation are radicalizing significant layers of U.S. Students. Yet they have not attained the level of consciousness nor the cohesiveness in action which mark the European student movement. In Canada we have neither the traditions of Europe nor the manifest social

contradictions of U.S. Society. The CCF was never a mass party on a cross-Canada basis nor was it ever a working class party, at least in composition or tradition. The NDP is new and so far has not succeeded in establishing a base on the campuses. If there existed a mass NDY, for example, the situation on Canadian campuses could be transformed very quickly. But the NDY does not exist at this time. Moreover, Canadian students are not faced with the draft and do not live in the context of the struggle of the blacks in American ghettos.

The most politically advanced actions which occurred last year on Canadian campuses and which involved any numbers of students were actions against the war in Vietnam. These actions, however, did not involve a large portion of the student body. Although SAEWV has extended its influence to new areas it remains essentially an information and service organization and is not yet seen as a leadership. The fact that the student anti-war movement does not yet have a recognized cross-Canada leadership reflects the lack of maturity in the movement and hampers the development of the movement in terms of size and maturity. Anti-war demonstrations have involved only a tiny layer of students. The fact that a majority of students are opposed to the war stands in sharp contrast to their willingness, at least so far, to act. This situation flows from the fact that the war does not directly affect the lives of Canadian students. It flows also from the relatively successful hypocrisy of the Canadian government regarding its role in the war.

Student power struggles were far less coordinated or regular and showed far less ability to sustain themselves than was the case with the anti-war movement. These struggles did not represent a campaign. They were episodes. They were simply defensive outbreaks in reaction to dramatic violations of basic rights. Generally, it was the most basic issues which mobilized students • profiteering in a bookstore or cafeteria, the firing of a professor for his views, the right of a student paper to publish what it wants, etc. More advanced issues, such as the intervention of the state in the university of Saskatchewan, failed to meet with any significant response from the student body. Even though other forces were involved and leadership provided, the students proved more curious than angry. The only issue which mobilized students on several campuses and became something of a campaign was the fight against campus recruitment by war-goods producing firms. This issue was promoted primarily by the *YS/LJS* both through our work in the student anti-war movement and through *YSF (our journal Young Socialist Forum)*.

The simple fact is the majority • the vast majority • of students have not committed themselves. It is probable that no more than 5% of the students in Canada have participated in a protest of any sort. There exists nothing more than an elementary feeling of solidarity among students on an inter-campus level • certainly there is no movement. It is important, for example, that not even the most advanced students have promoted sympathy actions in support of struggles on other campuses.

A more profound insight can be gained by examining more closely the thin stratum of students who were involved in protests last year. Of that layer **most** appeared only on demonstrations or similar dramatic events. The number of consistent student militants was and remains so small that even our tiny forces are significant simply in numerical terms. All other political tendencies saw further decline and stagnation. It is very revealing, for example that a radical paper such as *Confrontations* has produced almost no response on the campuses where it has been circulated. In a sizable radical milieu such a paper would almost inevitably result in



moves towards club formations in spite of the inadequacies of the leaderships of the NDP and NDY. But it has not. In fact only the YS/LJS • with its feet firmly on the ground • doing basic and regular work in the anti-war and student power movements and carrying basic socialist propaganda has grown. Our growth is impressive compared to our opponents and reflects the possibilities that really exist.

In Quebec, the national question has resulted in a somewhat more rapid development of the student movement. Quebec students have formed the Union Générale des Etudiants (du Québec), a student union oriented towards organized labor. Students in Quebec have held strikes demanding CEGEPs (state run as opposed to clerical schools) and UGEQ with little effort (unfortunately only token effort) has mobilized a greater percentage of Quebec students than have been mobilized in English Canada, against the Vietnam war. The somewhat more advanced character of the Quebec student movement is explicable only in terms of the national oppression faced by the whole of Quebec society. This oppression takes the form of an inferior educational system on the one hand; on the other it has resulted in a wave of workers militancy and trade union organization. These factors have combined to move students in Quebec ahead faster than the students in English Canada. Even in Quebec, however, it would be wrong to conclude that the radicalization of students runs as deeply as it does among European or even some layers of American students.

## **WHERE IS THE STUDENT MOVEMENT HEADED?**

U.S. imperialism remains a bulwark of reaction even if it has suffered some setbacks over the most recent period. Its penetration of the colonial world is deep and profitable and the U.S. capitalist class aims to keep it that way. Contrary to these aims stand the developing forces of the colonial revolution, a force which, as tiny Vietnam has clearly proven, is persistent and rugged. Vietnam stands as one of long list of U.S. imperialism's aggressive and counterrevolutionary escapades. It is not over yet and it will not be the last. Each time the American imperialists attack the revolutionary forces of a struggling colonial people the students in the advanced capitalist countries will react as they have on the issue of Vietnam.

The war in Vietnam remains today the focus of world politics. Over the past year the war has developed and transformed. It has revealed not only the savage, repressive brutality of imperialism but the grave structural weaknesses inherent in imperialism. Shifts continue to take place in U.S. ruling circles and open disagreements occur over tactics as the cost of the war in resources, human life, and political stability at home continue to soar. These factors open wider the door of protest and enhance the appeal of the U.S. and international anti-war movement.

The Canadian government's role has begun to receive some considerable publicity and will become clearer as a result of crude statements such as that of Trudeau, in which he relegated Canada to the position of a satellite of the U.S. There is every reason to expect that student opposition to the war will grow both in breadth and intensity, that wider layers will be mobilized against the Canadian bourgeoisie and that more and more students will be drawn into the struggle to end the complicity of the boards and the administration in the war. The role of the Canadian bourgeoisie in the war and the entanglement of the campuses in their own craven complicity is the target at which the anti-war movement must fasten its aim if it is to realize its potential of becoming a mass movement. The issue of complicity not only reveals the completely

reactionary character of the Canadian bourgeoisie but its utter inability and unwillingness to dissociate Canada from the barbarous policies of the U.S. State Department. The elemental and growing hostility of Canadian students to U.S. imperialism - bully of the world - and to the subservience of the Canadian bourgeoisie to the policies of U.S. Imperialism lay the basis for mobilizing students against the role of the Canadian capitalist class.

The students will also intensify their struggle against the inequalities and injustices of the universities. As the bourgeoisie continues to regiment the universities to the task of grinding out the now layers of skilled workers disciplined to accept the rule of the capitalist bosses, the students will increasingly fight back.

How rapidly will this struggle develop? How quickly will students identify their enemy as the Canadian bourgeoisie? Neither we nor anyone else can say. We do know that the causes for the struggle for democracy in the universities are deepening and we do know that the response of the students will deepen as it has over the past two or three years. We also know that the university administrations have shown a good deal of flexibility. They have given students a voice at certain levels, such as the senate, without a struggle. These reforms have so far successfully undercut the development of any mass, militant student power movement. So long as the administrations are willing and capable of granting reforms in this or that area, they will in all likelihood continue to head off the student power movement from becoming a mass movement of a sustained character.

The formation of SDUs (student unions -ed.) or ad hoc committees for student democracy represent the first concrete expression of the developing hostility on the campus towards the bourgeois university. It is important that we understand the SDUs and that we adopt the correct attitude towards them. The SDUs are elementary leadership organizations. They encompass, for the most part, only the militants on the campus at this stage, although they can swell during particular struggles. When this happens, as at McGill, they taper off again shortly after the particular struggle is over.

These clubs are usually led by a small groups centering around a couple of individuals and not a commonly agreed-upon program. Thus, even with the best intentions they tend to be clique-ridden. They have no inter-campus links and no publication. They are not rooted in the mass of the students because the mass of the students have not yet swung into action. Their isolation easily leads them into, and then feeds on, ultra-leftism and sectarianism. They just as easily move over to the crudest opportunism.

The important thing about the SDUs at this point is that they do encompass the radicals and they do attract radicalizing students. Whether or not they will develop a program or any inter-campus links remains to be seen.

The whole development of the student movement could be greatly speeded up by the formation of the New Democratic Youth. Such a development could occur with short notice and could quickly become a mass centrist youth movement, qualitatively changing the possibilities on the campus. In this situation the student movement would be given organization, continuity,

and a working class perspective. Of course, we would be the first to welcome such a development and would alter our work in all areas to meet it.

## **OUR WORK ON CAMPUS**

First, it should be mentioned that when we draw up general lines for our work on a cross-Canada level we should not understand this to mean the line must be applied inflexibly or in the same way in all cases. By which means and through which organizational forms we implement our line can vary widely from one situation to the next and from one area to the next. What we do at conventions is to determine direction and the lines of commonness along which we can work towards building a cohesive and unified revolutionary youth organization. It is the task of the comrades in their various work areas and geographical regions to take the essence of a line and then to work out the best means possible in their area for implementing it. It is equally important in this regard to remember that we do decide the general line at cross-Canada conventions and it is that line which all of us implement. The forms of application may vary widely, but the movement, the whole movement, has but one line. It is in this light that the following questions are dealt with.

On a cross-Canada basis the war in Vietnam remains at the centre of student politics. Over the whole past period it has been the colonial revolution, and, in the latest stage, Vietnam, which has been the primary radicalizing factor. Further it has been, and remains, students who have been radicalized by the colonial revolution, who have taken up other issues, and who have built our movement.

In this respect, the YS/LJS has correctly oriented to the building of a cross-Canada, single-issue student movement against the war, a movement which could mobilize the maximum number of students in opposition to U.S. aggression and which could initiate them to the facts of life about the war and the revolution in Vietnam. In the face of the obstacles mentioned above - the seemingly removed character of the war, the relatively undeveloped character of the mass of Canadian students and the resulting organizational disunity and instability - it is a tribute to our line that the student anti-war movement has already mobilized so many students. With the development of the war and the development of the student movement on an international scale, we have every reason to remain confident in our perspective towards building mass opposition to the war.

At the same time we must not forget the relatively low level of the student body as a whole, and we must remember that the radicals and revolutionaries will play a truly important role only if they retain their ability to appeal both to the mass of as yet unmoved students and to the mass organizations of labour.

Around which slogans should the student anti-war movement be organized in order that it may make the possibility for a mass movement a reality? Those students already in the anti-war movement were mobilized on the basis of the slogans "Withdraw U.S. Troops" and "End Canadian Complicity". The character of the war has not fundamentally altered, nor have the

masses of students developed a revolutionary consciousness. The correctness of the slogans therefore stands. Our slogans are based on the principled obligation to oppose U.S. imperialism and to defend the Vietnamese revolution. The content of our slogans, therefore, across the world, is not open to compromise. But the formulation of the slogans must relate to the realities of our situation in Canada. "withdraw U.S. Troops" is a concrete expression of the basic right of national self-determination for Vietnam. It is the slogan urged upon us by the north Vietnamese because if it is realized it will mean the victory of the revolution. At the same time it is a demand which supports the GIs (American army conscripts -ed.) and therefore cuts across the crude counter-revolutionary anti-Americanism of the ultra-lefts and the Communist Party.

"End Canadian Complicity" is clearly an anti-imperialist demand. It is aimed at the vital nexus of interdependence between the U.S. and Canadian bourgeoisies. It demands a break by the capitalist state in this country with their strategic and self-interested policy of all-out support to the savage policies of U.S. imperialism - defender of the imperialist interests of the Canadian ruling class and co-exploiter of Canada's working people. These slogans are the necessary and sufficient principled basis for building a mass movement against the war in Canada - a single-issue movement, and not some, sort of broad "anti-imperialist" movement. Instead of altering them to suit the whims of a thin layer of honest young militants or the malicious intentions of the hard-core ultra-leftists, we must show the radicals that the truly revolutionary course is the mobilization of masses against the interests of the Canadian capitalist state. We must point out the mindless, phrase-mongering futility of the slogans of the ultra-lefts and the unprincipled, class-collaborationist character of the multi-issue demands raised by the Communist Party. We must point the way to the mass organizations, especially to the New Democratic Party - a massive and powerful political arm of the working class. Our NDP orientation gives us a viability qualitatively superior to that of the ultra-left sects or the Communist Party. We are not just a tiny handful as they are. We orient to the political expression of the working class, to build it and to change it. That is what makes our slogans in the anti-war movement real slogans and not just pseudo-revolutionary verbiage.

We must turn the movement towards the students and push to the fore the demand "End campus complicity". This demand attacks the utilization of the universities by the capitalists for their own imperialist purposes. As well it raises the whole question of who runs the university and for what purposes. Hence it interlocks with the student power struggle - it is the student power struggle.

There are two other tasks which our movement faces in our anti-war work. First, we must continue to build up the Student Association to End the War in Vietnam (SAEWV) as a cross-Canada leadership, regardless of the wide and changing range of forms which will exist in the local areas. We as Marxists know that the very real heterogeneity that exists in this country must be overcome. Our task is to draw forth the commonness in the struggle, to work toward the unity of the students on a principled political basis. While we can do no more than the present political climate permits, we must do everything that it does permit.

Through its buttons and posters, its speakers and film tours, its pamphlet on Canadian complicity, its conferences, its publication of the Bulletin (which goes to 1000 student anti-war activists twice as often as YSF) and its sponsorship of cross-Canada actions, SAEWV has played an important role in the development of the cohesiveness which exists in the student anti-war movement. With no competitors, and its own positive record, SAEWV stands as the organization through which the YS/LJS must work to unite and build the anti-war movement on the campus. In some areas this can mean campus committees directly affiliated to SAEWV. In others it means the promotion of SAEWV material, the circulation of the Bulletin, and the effort to develop SAEWV as the cross-Canada, focal point and leadership of the student movement against the war.

Second, we must further develop the campaign concept in the student sector of the anti-war movement. It is cross-Canada campaigns which will lay the real basis for drawing in the action-oriented militants at the local level and for creating a real cross-Canada movement with a recognized leadership.

Right across the country we have seen a thin layer of anti-war militants on the campus develop towards an anti-imperialist consciousness. Not having any organization other than the anti-war movement, they tend toward multi-issuism in the anti-war movement. This phenomenon points out very clearly the correctness of our analysis that a single-issue movement based on our slogans is inherently anti-imperialist and can lead to conscious anti-imperialist conclusions among anti-war activists - with our help, of course. It also points out the key role of the YS/LJS and the importance of building it. These young militants must be won to the YS/LJS

- the revolutionary youth movement. The anti-war movement must be widened, it must not permit healthy, developing youth to be caught in the trap of sectarianism. This would be the result if we permitted them to transform the student anti-war movement into some little movement of their own. We must fight to maintain our anti-war slogans.

## **OUR POLICY ON STUDENT POWER**

We must be clear on how we approach such a phenomenon as student power. If we are not clear now we will be much the worse off as it develops. This development is new, episodic and unpredictable. We have no way of telling what organizational forms it will develop or around which particular issues it will mobilize students most effectively. We must approach student power without preconceived abstract and formalistic concepts about which paths it MUST take and which goals it MUST fight for. We must also recognize its low level and the astute character of the administrations. We cannot end up opposing reforms which seem to derail the students. The Marxist movement has never rejected democratic demands or opposed reforms, no matter how trivial. We must see the progressive character of the demand by students for a simple voice in campus affairs and promote the election of students

- especially radicals and revolutionaries
- to all bodies on the campus. We support these demands and help lead the students to further conclusions. Without a lot of preconceived notions based on little but a static view of the student power development, we can remain flexible enough to move with it and to take advantage of the



opportunities which these struggles will place before us to recruit and struggle for leadership. Extremely important is the tremendous flux in the composition of the student body. Every year the most experienced students leave and over half the students are completely new to the campus. This alone dashes straight-line concepts of the development of student power struggles.

We support the fight for democracy on campus in all its aspects and we work to promote that struggle. But it is a struggle with a dynamic of its own and will be interlocked with other struggles. Nobody has a blueprint for it and it will not develop according to preconceived rules. Rather than try to work out exact five-year plans for these struggles, we should concentrate on establishing the YS/LJS on the campus.

Our purpose on the campus is clear. Armed with our program we will intervene to establish the YS/LJS as the best defender of the students' interests. We are building a combat organization of students, the YS/LJS, and we invite everyone who wants to help us to join. We are not interested in building any other political youth organizations. We project the need for political leadership on the basis of our program by participating in the day-to-day struggles of the campus. We aim to mobilize the mass of the students under our banner in a struggle for a socialist Canada. While it will be far from a direct road to the accomplishment of this aim, it is absolutely vital that it remain in the forefront of our minds as we work on the campus. It is with this perspective that we can sort out campus developments and work out what we must do in each situation to move us closer to that goal.

An important step towards building the YS/LJS in the universities is the establishment of our campus YS clubs on a somewhat different basis. It should be understood from the start that this is possible only insofar as the NDY continues to ignore the campus. They must eagerly seek out any student moving towards socialism and involve that student in the sales of YSF and other literature, in distributions for events sponsored by the club, etc. But more than that, these people can be brought towards us far faster if they participate in club discussions as club members and work with our comrades in the club itself. Of course, with the campus comrades operating as a fraction, with the magazine, our speakers and our literature it will be very obvious to these people that they should join the cross-Canada movement - the democratic centralist YS/LJS. These clubs could, with careful work, become the chief spokesmen and leaderships on some campuses, even now, for student power and for socialism. They could run candidates for student council, either by themselves or as part of a united front slate. Building such clubs could encompass radicalizing students not yet ready to join our movement. They would work under our banner and our leadership. YSF would be the magazine of these clubs and they would order their own bundles. The basis of membership would be interest in socialism and a willingness to help in the work of popularizing socialist ideas on campus. The natural arenas of recruitment to these clubs would be anti-war committees, SDUs and other radical organizations as well as from the campus at large through literature tables and other events sponsored by the club. We would look upon these clubs as part of the Young Socialist movement and upon members as contacts of the YS/LJS. These clubs will reflect the real level of radicalization on the campus. Until student radicalization deepens they would not be large. It is important, nonetheless, to establish the open forum character of these clubs and to publicize them widely. Where SDUs exist we will, of course, not ignore them. On the contrary, we will participate in them, promoting rank and file control and defending our socialist analysis of the university. We must also build YS clubs alongside of SDUs as independent vehicles for our ideas and a platform from which to orient students coming towards us. In this situation YS clubs would be harder,

more politically homogeneous organizations. The establishment of YS clubs on campuses where SDUs exist is very logical. The latter make no claims to socialism. We, on the other hand, are socialists and need our own means of expression. Further, it is best to operate with our own organized public vehicle on the campuses in anticipation of the possibilities that will increasingly exist for us to attract students directly to our own movement. Where no SDU exists, YS clubs can play a broader role as the most outspoken and consistent spokesmen in defence of student rights and against the administration.

The program that we put forward in last year's resolution, ?? ur University Work, ? remains essentially valid in light of the past year's experience. It can be used as a guide to our work in the student power arena in our local areas.

Our work on the campuses in Quebec is not qualitatively different from our work in English Canada in this period. The local campus units of UGEQ operate pretty much as student councils do in English Canada. In most other ways too, our comrades in Quebec have found Quebec universities to be much the same as elsewhere in Canada. We support the struggle for CEGEPs. As well we support UGEQ. We call on UGEQ to carry the struggle against the Vietnam war and we support the struggles of Quebec students against all aspects of their national oppression and for democratically run schools. In Quebec we would establish LJS clubs on the French campuses which would operate as do the YS clubs on English campuses.

The big task both in the French and English campuses is to spread our ideas, to establish broader connections, We can do this especially through circulating YSF and by circulating La Lutte Ouvriere in Quebec.

## THE STUDENT LEFT IN PERSPECTIVE

Along the main line of march the student left will spawn many ill-considered ideas. Sometimes they will represent the feelings of developing healthy forces and sometimes they will be the work of our opponents. Our reaction would depend on the circumstances. The key thing for us is our own program and its implementation. Our roots go back over 120 years. Our general program and method represent the lessons of generations of struggle. Our organization is now and will continue to be the most correct and most important organization on the campus. Sometimes our inexperience and the changing physiognomy of the campus combine to make us forget these simple facts.

In the past year we have seen the beginnings of a high school radicalization in North America. In Canada, as in the U.S., this radicalization has taken place largely around Vietnam. This radicalization around an international issue is inseparable from the oppressive nature of the high schools and the intense personal crisis of the teenage years. Because the high school system resembles a crude replica of this society where all the inequalities and inhuman goals are magnified, where the student has almost no legal rights, even though he is taught that we live in a democracy, high school militants come more easily to revolutionary conclusions. High school struggles for democratic rights often lead to a more general questioning of society, and we participate in these struggles with the aim of winning them and winning recruits to our movement.

But at the same time high school struggles for democracy have not increased in numbers or intensity, the anti-war movement has seen a marked increase in high school participation. So far much of this participation has taken no organizational forms. We know that high school organizing is very difficult because of the atomization of the students into many schools and close parental control over their activities. Yet, and in fact because of this situation, it is extremely important that high school students have their own organizations in the anti-war movement. It is necessary, however, that these organizations be in very close touch with the rest of the anti-war movement and particularly the campus movement, since on their own they are very frail and episodic.

With the development of the anti-war movement and the increasing popularity of revolutionary fighters such as Malcolm X and Che, the formal divisions between high school and university become less important. University and high school students are involved in similar struggles mobilized around many of the same issues and this becomes more and more the case. The continuum between high school and university radicalism widens as increasing numbers of high school students go on to some form of post-secondary education. It widens, too, with every anti-war demonstration in which students at both levels participate. And in our movement the continuum is very clear. The YS/LJS is very much both a high school and university student movement. The possibilities of one youth movement encompassing struggles on both levels can be seen in the April 26 Student Strike in the U.S. and in the recent struggles of both high school and university students in France.

Our own movement must be geared sensitively to meet the needs of our high school recruits. The recent work in Toronto, where the local high school fraction has gone from 5 to 11 since April 6 points up the need to meet this challenge of adapting our movement. Of particular importance is the utilization of the headquarters as attractive social centres for high-schoolers and the use of *YSF* as a popular means to introduce our ideas. These together with our active participation in the anti-war movement can hopefully increase our cross-Canada high school fraction considerably over the next period.

## CONCLUSION

The line of this document is essentially the line of the last convention, together with some comments and recommendations based on the conjunctural developments we have met over the past year. The task of the YS/LJS in the student movement is above all to build a cohesive and integrated movement that grasps the convention line and implements it. This can occur only to the extent that our movement succeeds over the next year in speeding along the process of building a collective leadership that extends across the country.

## **THE U.S. AND THE STUDENT ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT**

*(Found loose in 1968 with YS DB Vol.4 No. 1)*

Amendment to Canadian Universities and Our Student Work to be substituted for Page 5 para. 4 *(and)* to page 7 para 1 inclusive.

Our slogans are based on the principled obligation to oppose U.S. imperialism and to defend the Vietnamese revolution. The content of our slogans, therefore, is not open to compromise. But the formulation of the slogans must relate to the realities of our situation in Canada. Our objective in determining slogans is to reach people at their present level of consciousness, to raise that level, and to mobilize them in a struggle which will lead to socialist conclusions.

In Canada, the most important slogan in terms of these objectives, is the demand for an end to Canadian complicity in the war. This slogan leads directly to a struggle against the Canadian capitalist government. Our major task is to convince students and youth of the significance of this slogan. In doing this, we must overcome the problems posed above: the hypocrisy of the Canadian government in terms of public statements, the lack of direct and immediate involvement of Canada in the war, and the lack of widespread campus complicity. Where campus complicity issues arise, they can play an important role in educating students about Canadian complicity, and in linking the anti-war movement to the student power movement.

In the U.S., the demand for Withdrawal plays the role that the demand for an end to complicity does in Canada. "Bring Our Boys Home" meets American youth on the lowest level of opposition to the war — "I don't want to fight and die in a war I don't understand." It mobilizes those youth against the American government and, through these confrontations, leads them to generalize about the nature of that government and the forces it represents. The slogan of Withdrawal does not have that advantage in Canada; it does not direct the struggle against our own government.

The slogans for defense of the revolution and solidarity with it put the demand for self-determination, the demand for withdrawal, in the context of what is happening in Vietnam — the revolution — and identify with it. These slogans put the demand for an end to Canadian complicity in a new framework. This demand then identifies the Canadian government as a force against progress on a world scale, as the enemy of those who are struggling for a better life in the colonial world. This combination of slogans will tend to reinforce the doubts that youth already have in the government's role in Canada, and put the struggle against the Canadian government in the context of a world struggle for social change.

### **Sectarianism in the Anti-War Movement**

The sectarianism of the committees to support the NLF (*North Vietnamese National Liberation Front*) consists not of carrying slogans and NLF flags on demonstrations, but rather in their attempt to impose these slogans on the anti-war movement as a whole, and their refusal to participate in building a broad anti-war movement.

We must confront the sectarians, and argue that the best possible defense of the Vietnamese is the building of a powerful anti-war movement in North America. But we should not give up our role as the defenders of the colonial revolution in North America in reaction to the activities of the sectarians.

Our consistent work in defense of the colonial revolution, around Cuba as well as Vietnam, has made a big contribution to the development of the feeling of solidarity with the colonial revolution among student youth. It is true that students can identify with the colonial revolution while writing off the perspective for revolutionary change in North America, but we should not deal with that problem by criticizing their explicit identification with the colonial revolution. Rather, we should identify ourselves with this sentiment, as **the** defenders of the colonial revolution in North America, with the objective of winning these youth to the YS and our perspective for North America.

By refusing to identify with the growing solidarity of youth with the colonial revolution, we are **counterposing** the demands for withdrawal and an end to complicity when they should be **linked** to our solidarity with the Vietnamese. We can convince these students of the importance of the demand for an end to complicity if we explicitly identify ourselves with their anti-imperialism, and lead it in that direction.

### **Approach to the trade union movement and the NDP**

The demand for non-exclusion is based on the fact that different sections of society oppose the war for different reasons, and that the anti-war movement should reflect that diversity. It is clear that the sentiment of solidarity with the colonial revolution is stronger among students (to whom the YS is appealing) than other sections of the anti-war movement, and it is quite reasonable that students should carry solidarity slogans while agreeing with the rest of the movement on the demands for an end to Canadian complicity and withdrawal of U.S. troops.

There is no reason to believe that the leadership of the NDP and the labor movement would be alienated by our use of slogans in defense of the colonial revolution and in solidarity with the Vietnamese if we do not attempt to impose these on the movement as a whole, and if we continue to be the main force in building the broadest possible movement on a non-exclusionist basis. (*Founding NDP Federal leader Tommy*) Douglas explicitly declares the legitimacy of the Vietnamese revolution in his speeches.

Our success in winning non-exclusion as the basis of the anti-war movement means that the growing anti-imperialist sentiment among youth will be reflected by solidarity-type slogans on demonstrations whether we carry them or not. There is no way for us to prevent the expression of this sentiment within the anti-war movement. We have a choice of arguing against it, or identifying with it and attempting to win it to an understanding of the importance of fighting Canadian government complicity.

### **Organizational forms**

With this program, linking Canadian complicity and withdrawal to our solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution, the YS/LJS can initiate student actions against the war on a cross-Canada level (like Feb. 9) in its own name and involve other students and student organizations through united front-type formations. We would work within these formations on a cross-Canada level and in local areas, to win them to our program. If our program were not adopted, we would carry our slogans under our own name in the



demonstration, but continue to support the united front and work for it (as we intervened with "Withdrawal" and End (*Canadian*) Complicity through the membership committees before the anti-war movement as a whole accepted them.)

Open campus YS clubs acting on this program can involve as many students as single-issue committees have done and, in many areas, more. The role of campus YS clubs and single-issue membership committees will vary from campus to campus, but in most cases the single-issue committees would continue to carry most day-to-day educational work on Vietnam, while campus YS clubs would initiate united front actions and carry educational work linking Vietnam to other issues. Similarly, SAEWV (*the high-school antiwar movement – Ed.*) could continue to play a role as an information and service organization, while cross-Canada actions can be initiated more effectively through the YS-LJS which is recognized as a force in the anti-war movement across the country. It will be easier to involve other student radicals in the anti-war movement on campus if we initiate united fronts and participate in them, openly, as the YS/LJS rather than acting through SAEWV.

## CAMPUS WORK

Amendment to the resolution Canadian Universities and our Student Work

*(Found loose in 1968 with YS DB Vol. 4 No. 1) (unsigned probable leadership resolution)*

That the following summary be added to the resolution, and preceding sections of the resolution be rewritten where they may be contradictory to the following:

1. The development of student radicalism internationally and in Canada grows out of both the crisis of world imperialism and the changing structure of the university in neo-capitalist society. The social position of the student is becoming proletarianized at the same time that his societies are becoming increasingly complicit in the repression of liberation movements around the world.
2. The pace and character of development of the student movement will therefore be shaped by both these sets of factors. Our campus strategy must respond to this by orienting the YS/LJS to active involvement in both anti-imperialist (primarily anti-Vietnam war) and student power struggles. Mass confrontations between students and the rulers of the bourgeois university will grow and deepen in the next period, but Vietnam will retain its importance as an issue around which radicalizing students will organize, generalize their experiences and move toward revolutionary consciousness.
3. The long-term success of the student movement depends upon its ability to link up with the working class. In Canada, an orientation to the working class means an orientation to the NDP. In the course of its struggles the student power movement must inevitably move towards political action and therefore the NDP. We must intervene in this process to both accelerate and deepen the character of the links between the student power movement and the working class. We must promote such actions as solidarity with trade union struggles (strikes, opposition to anti-labor legislation) and political support for the NDP. The growing political consciousness of the student power movement might find various expressions: e.g., revival and growth of the NDY (*New Democratic Youth*), affiliation of student societies directly with the NDP, etc. The important point however is that the student movement as a whole must develop serious links with the organized working class and its political expression, the NDP.
4. A growing movement of radicalization and mobilization among students accentuates the need for clear programmatic direction and coherent political leadership. Only the YS/LJS can play this role. Only the YS/LJS can impart to the movement a measure of stability, coherence and a cross-Canada coordination. We must, therefore, move our campus forces aggressively into this area of activity and struggle for leadership. We must be prepared to initiate student power struggles and formations, as well as intervene in on-going struggles. Open YS clubs will enable us to group together the more conscious elements and serve as a crucial force to direct student power consciousness towards a general anti-capitalist consciousness. We must carry anti-war questions into the student power movement and bring the student power groups into the anti-war movement.

While a growth of the NDY may flow from the expansion of campus struggles, such a development is not imminent. Only the YS/LJS can now serve as the political link between the student power movement and the organizations of the workingclass.
5. The SDU (*student unionist --ed.*) type of organization has numerous advantages: involvement of a broad layer of militants, by-passing of traditional student bureaucrats, etc. In some cases, however, particularly as a transitional measure where no tradition of student struggle exists, other forms of organization may be more appropriate: united fronts, NDY or even YS/LJS leadership. Where SDUs seem appropriate, we should be prepared to initiate them and participate in their leadership.
6. Our program must flow from an overall strategy of student-faculty-staff control of the university. The independence of the student movement from the existing structures must be central to our strategy. Abolition of the Board rather than restructuring of the Board thus appears as generally a more adequate slogan.

Nevertheless, in certain circumstances where student participation is an established political reality or where developed participation struggles exist, we would not oppose such participation. Rather, we would support participation while pointing out its inadequacies and the long-range need for control.

## Introduction to the Pre-Convention Discussion

by J. Fraser, from YS/LJS DB Vol. 4 No. 1 June 1968

*Note: The CEC requested that a statement be submitted from Vancouver as an introduction to the pre-convention discussion to clarify why the Vancouver local initiated the call for a convention and elaborate on the proposals that we feel should be discussed in the pre-convention discussion and at the convention.*

*This statement is somewhat more rounded than that submitted by Vancouver members of the EC to the EC. It should, however, be regarded simply as an introduction to the discussion, particularly since it is based almost exclusively on experience in Vancouver. Comrades will note that the statement does not discuss our program for the student power movement or the anti-war movement in any detail, and does not deal with the high school situation. It is intended to outline a general perspective. These other questions will be taken up later in the pre-convention discussion. (Intro italicized by Web Ed.)*

#

#

#

Since the last convention, we have seen a tremendous development of student radicalization throughout the capitalist world. This radicalization has been largely in response to the colonial revolution, and particularly the confrontation between imperialism and the revolution in Vietnam.

Students around the world have linked Vietnam in various ways to various other issues. In areas of Europe, the first mass demonstrations were around bread-and-butter student issues. At the same time, opposition to the war in Vietnam is expressed in terms of solidarity with the colonial revolution, and leads masses of students rapidly to more general socialist conclusions. This is particularly true in Europe where the anti-war movement was initiated by explicitly socialist youth organizations. But across North America as well, more and more youth are identifying with the NLF (*National Liberation Front*) in Vietnam, with the colonial revolution in general, with Che Guevara. More and more youth consider themselves socialists.

In Canada, the student radicalization has spread and deepened. More students on more campuses have been involved in protests over Campus issues in the past year than ever before (in the experience of the YS at least). At the time of our last convention we did not even discuss the organizational forms through which the campus issues could or should be fought. Since the convention we have seen the development of student power organizations, mostly open membership-type committees rather than formal united fronts, on almost every major campus in the country.

The growing radicalization has been reflected in another way within the anti-war movement. Those youth who are prepared to demonstrate in opposition to the war want to go beyond the democratic demand of self-determination for the Vietnamese. They want to identify themselves as partisans of the revolution in Vietnam and throughout the colonial world.

In spite of the radicalization among youth, the other left tendencies have continued to decline. One of the most important developments since our last convention has been the growth of the YS and our success in establishing ourselves as **the** socialist youth tendency.

### **Student Power Movement:**

The student power movement and its development since the last convention has provided our movement with an important new area of work. We are in an excellent position to take a leading role in building this movement and giving it an anti-capitalist direction.

In order to be able to intervene effectively, we have to clarify the perspective we see for this movement, and the program that we want to project into it.

Do we want to take the responsibility of leadership in this movement or operate as a left minority within it? How can we link the student issues to social issues in Canada and internationally? Can struggles around student issues play a major role in bringing students to revolutionary conclusions? Can we intervene **as the YS** directly over student issues? What role can the YS and *YSF* (*Young Socialist Forum* magazine) play in building a cohesive student movement across Canada?

The convention must deal with these questions in terms of our experience across Canada since the last convention, and our analysis of the changing role and composition of the university. The proposals made here are based on our experience in Vancouver and our limited knowledge of experiences in the rest of the country.

The past year has taught us a lot about the potential, as well as the problems, involved in building a movement against big business control of the university. The possibility of mobilizing large numbers of students around campus issues has been demonstrated. The willingness of most of these students to generalize their opposition to the university structure to an opposition to the system has been shown on several occasions.

Yet the movement faces serious problems. The youth involved are new to politics altogether. Their leadership is generally inconsistent 'new-left' types. Both the leaders and the mass of students lack a long-term perspective and a worked out program

Organizationally the movement is very unstable. Where organizational forms are established, the 'participatory democracy' theory of the leadership leads to a constant tendency for the organizational forms of the movement to give way to informal clique domination.

With all its problems, the movement faces powerful enemies. Behind the facade of the Board of Governors are the entire local capitalist class and the provincial government. Canadian capitalism, through its Royal Commission, has shown a desire to be flexible in order to meet the demands of students that won't rock the boat too much, and divert students from the struggle.

Most major campuses now either have or soon will have student representation on the senate and various administrative committees. From the experience we know of, this student 'victory' has had much the effect that the Duff-Berdahl report hoped it would in channeling student efforts in a safe direction. (One important qualification: while radicals elected to senate have tended to become senators rather than radicals, the masses of students have passed them by).

## **Our role**

Contrary to the conclusions of the last plenum, the role of student power formations is not limited to that of a forum. They can become a powerful mass movement which challenges not only the BoG (*university Board of Governors –ed.*), but the government and the capitalist system itself.

The growing intervention of the state in the university, and the inevitability of confrontations between students and state, mean that a movement based primarily on student issues can play a powerful role in bringing a new generation of students to revolutionary consciousness .

For these reasons, our orientation cannot be limited to supporting it and using it as a forum for our ideas. We have to take responsibility for building and leading the student power movement.



The fact that we are the only tendency on campus with a consistent working class perspective makes our role in the movement key to the development of the movement itself. Our experience has indicated that in many areas, unless we intervene, the student power movement will simply lead students through a series of confrontations over limited objectives, often leading to defeat and demoralization.

Our task as revolutionaries in the leadership of the student movement is to present demands for student or student-faculty control which maintain the independence of the student movement, cutting across demands for student participation in existing university structures which generally lead to cooptation and demoralization. At the same time, we must constantly look for opportunities to link student issues to more general social questions. Often the student issues themselves involve broader social questions (e.g., disciplining of students or TA's – *teaching assistants* –ed. – for participation in various political activities, or the current red-baiting attack on the PSA Dept. at SFU) (*Simon Fraser U., Burnaby BC*).

The ideal way to link student issues to other issues would be through organizational unity, as in Europe where socialist youth organizations lead both the student power struggle and the anti-war movement. However, the decline of the NDY, and our limited forces, have meant that the student movement cannot be encompassed within the existing multi-issue left youth formations.

Our approach under these circumstances should be to build wide-open organizations like SDU, through which the maximum number of students can be involved in planning and assessing actions. As well as counterposing demands for control to those for participation within these organizations, we should push them to take a stand on the anti-labor drive and the war, and look for opportunities to raise demands like nationalization in relation to high fees etc.

Unless there is an unforeseen revitalization of the NDY in the next period, the only organization which can explain the relationship between campus and off-campus issues will be the YS. This fact, combined with the instability of the single-issue student power organizations, means that it is possible for the YS to be established as the leadership of the student movement on campus issues as well as more general issues. Our intervention with *YSF* and the campus YS clubs should be aimed in this direction, recognizing that developments across the country will be uneven. (More under Open Work)

## **Anti-War Movement**

The growing militancy of the student anti-war movement internationally is having its impact on Canada. It is important now that we analyze the experience of the international movement in discussing how we can intervene to take the leadership of these youth and prevent their militancy from being channeled into the blind alley of ultra-leftism.

It is particularly important that we discuss the anti-war movement here in relation to the movement in the U.S. In the U.S., the draft makes the war an immediate issue for students and youth. Young people who do not want to be killed in Vietnam can become committed to the anti-war movement without having rejected the system as a whole. For most American youth, the first

experience in mass protest action, in radical politics, is in the anti-war movement. Yet even where the objective base of the single-issue student movement is so clear, the organizational forms of the movement have been constantly changing. The Berkeley (*California*) VDC, exemplary membership committee, has been followed by several new coalition formations since its demise.

Socialist youth in the U.S., while pushing for the maintenance of the single-issue character of the anti-war movement as a whole, have consistently carried their own banners calling for defense of the Vietnamese revolution, support for socialist candidates, Black control of Black communities, etc.

At the time of our last convention, most students in Canada were having their first experience in radical politics through the anti-war movement. This is no longer true. The movement which has mobilized the largest number of students in protest actions is now the student power movement. Those youth (particularly university students) who participate in anti-war demonstrations are already radical on other issues, and have already demonstrated on campus issues.

These youth demonstrate against the war because they oppose the system, because they identify with the Vietnamese and with the colonial revolution generally. Until the intervention of the YS with its own banners, the most popular slogan amongst anti-war youth in Vancouver was 'support the NLF.' Because of the sectarianism of the NLF committee, and their inability to involve the youth who are attracted to their slogans, many of the youth who want to go beyond the democratic demands are coming to regard the regular mobilizations as rituals, and are dropping away from the anti-war movement.

So long as the anti-war movement does not involve large sections of the trade union movement and the NDP, so long as the working class remains quiet, the radicalization of youth provides fertile ground for ultra-leftism. It is difficult for us to explain to young radicals our orientation to the NDP and the compromises we must make in the anti-war movement, when they do not see the perspective for social change carried out by the working class of North America.

These youth do not understand that the most important task of the anti-war movement is to reach out to the trade union movement and the NDP, to those sections of society who have the power to end Canadian complicity in genocide. The question that is posed for us is: How can they come to understand this? How can we intervene to keep the militant youth involved in the anti-war struggle without cutting across the anti-war movement's orientation to the unions and NDP?

The conclusion of last year's political resolution, 'The main task in the coming year is to build the student committees, and draw them together more firmly in SAEWV, their Canada-wide association', is not adequate for the situation we face today.

Our objective is to involve the largest possible number of youth in action against the war and Canadian complicity. In some areas this will mean initiating anti-war action through student power organizations. In most areas it will mean establishing coalitions against the war — coalitions set up for one action or series of actions, which are not expected to carry consistent activity over long periods of time. In some areas the coalition can be encompassed within the

existing membership committee, but in most areas the coalitions will change and organizational forms will change with them.

The instability of anti-war coalitions has made it impossible to build SAEWV as the leadership of the anti-war movement across Canada. Outside Eastern Canada, it is regarded as a Trotskyist front. It would be as easy to get campus radicals to accept the YS as the leadership of the student anti-war movement, if not easier. Aside from the bulletin (which is appallingly out of date when it reaches the west), the representatives of SAEWV everywhere are our comrades. The only anti-war activists who are prepared to go to conferences in Eastern Canada are our comrades. We are the only people who have had any concrete experience with SAEWV. In Vancouver, anti-war activists identify with San Francisco, rather than Toronto. By dividing ourselves from the rest of the student anti-war movement, our attempt to build SAEWV has had a negative affect on the student anti-war movement in Vancouver.

The failure of SAWV to become a viable, cross-Canada organization is not surprising. It is not a result of lack of effort by our comrades in SAEWV or in the committees across the country. It results from: 1) the inevitable instability of such coalitions evident in our experiences across North America; 2] the fact that Canada is not directly involved in the war which leads to the fact that our comrades are the only consistent anti-war activists; 3) the tremendous problems of communication caused by the geography of Canada; 4) the uneven development of the student anti-war movement across Canada and the lack of a readily identifiable center of anti-war activity (although New York has consistently had the largest demonstrations in the U.S., Vancouver still has somewhat larger demonstrations than Toronto – with Toronto catching up very fast.)

We should be as flexible as possible in determining the organizational forms to involve as many tendencies and individuals as possible in the student anti-war movement. These will vary from time to time and from place to place.

## **YS Intervention**

The fact that anti-war youth in Canada are taking up slogans like 'Support the NLF' and 'Their Fight is Our Fight' should inspire us as an indication of the deepening radicalization which is taking place among those youth who participate in the anti-war movement. It is only a problem because those organizations which put forward these slogans will attempt to lead youth into a sectarian dead-end.

The slogan 'Their Fight is our fight' takes as its starting point the identification of youth with the colonial revolution and attempts to lead it in the direction that the Maoists project for social change in Canada: Canada is a colony; we need a national liberation struggle here too.

We can't answer that slogan with 'Withdraw Now' or 'End Canadian Complicity'. Our objective should not be to counterpose democratic demands to explicitly anti-imperialist demands, but to develop the identification with the colonial revolution in the direction of a revolutionary working class perspective for Canada.

The intervention of the Vancouver YS on April 27 was aimed at generalizing the support of the NLF in a socialist, rather than nationalist, direction. It is based on our feeling that Canadian youth will come to revolutionary working class politics in this period through first identifying with the colonial revolution, then with the socialist leadership of that revolution (Cuba and Che), then identifying with the YS and only then accepting our working class orientation for North America. It was for this reason that our intervention centered around Che and the slogans 'Defend the Colonial Revolution' and 'Solidarity with Vietnam'.

In putting forward our own banners on demonstrations we are setting ourselves apart from the movement as a whole to some extent. However, in Vancouver, we set ourselves apart from the 'official' antiwar movement in order not to set ourselves apart from the youth on the demonstrations.

The YS-LJS should take this kind of initiative on a cross-country level. Obviously the danger of ultra-leftism and/or demoralization is more immediate in Vancouver than elsewhere. But it results not from some peculiarity in the Vancouver situation, but from two factors which will affect our work in other areas-as well. First, the lack of direct Canadian involvement in the war, which results in a generally higher level of political consciousness among youth who become involved in the movement. Second; the fact that these youth have not seen the working class in motion, and do not have a working class orientation.

Our intervention in local areas would have to be sensitive and would vary from place to place. Since March '66, we have had four major mobilizations in Vancouver, all under 'Withdraw Now' and 'End Complicity' banners, involving about 2000 on the march and 4000 at the rally. The support for pro-NLF slogans grew throughout this period until on April 27; if we hadn't intervened, the Maoists would have had the unchallenged leadership of the youth on the demonstration.

While local tactics vary, *YSF* can play an important role in generalizing on identification with the colonial revolution and explaining our orientation to the anti-war movement. *YSF* should call on youth who support the colonial revolution to build the anti-war movement, discuss why the most effective way to support the NLF is through building the broadest possible anti-war movement, and explain the importance of involving the trade unions and the NDP.

The apparent conflict between involving militant youth and winning more conservative trade unionists may be solved by mobilizing the youth independently. On a Canada-wide scale, this should be initiated by the YS rather than SAEWV, in collaboration with as many other youth groups as possible (student power formations, YND on the prairies, new left types, etc.) Independent mobilizations, with banners proclaiming support to the revolution in Vietnam, would give youth the opportunity to express their feelings on the war, and would put militant youth in a position to bargain with the more conservative peace groups, trade unions, etc., for the joint mass mobilizations. Militant speakers at youth mobilizations could point out the importance of involving unions and the NDP and the necessity of making concessions.

## **Open Work**

The key to our success in all areas in the next year is an aggressive development of our open work. The growing interest in socialist ideas, the growth of the student power movement and the radicalization of anti-war youth all combine to increase the opportunities and responsibilities we face in our open work.

This is particularly true on campus. There is less and less prejudice against our movement and our ideas. In Vancouver, the response to YS tables and meetings is much better than the response to single-issue Vietnam activities.

A large and growing number of university students want to identify themselves as socialists, and participate in socialist work on campus. The fact that the NDY is non-existent practically, leaves them nowhere to go unless they are prepared to commit themselves as revolutionaries and join the YS.

This problem is particularly acute in Vancouver where both major campuses are geographically isolated from the city and therefore from the off-campus YS. However, as the campus radicalization develops, more and more students will come to revolutionary politics through exclusively campus activity.

To involve these students, Young Socialist clubs on campus should be membership organizations, which anyone can join, with regular membership meetings. This step wouldn't hinder the growth of the YS as a bolshevik youth movement, but would help it through making it easier to recruit from the campus. It would not involve any watering down of our program since the clubs should be committed formally to *YSF*, with their primary purpose being circulation of *YSF* and our other literature.

Our comrades could operate as a fraction within the club. There is no harm in letting our contacts participate in deciding the educational program for the campus. Participation in the campus YS would be the first big step towards joining the YS off campus.

There would be no difficulty in justifying the establishment of such clubs. The role that they will play cannot possibly be played by the NDY or any other tendency. YS is the only organization interested in a socialist educational program on campus, and the only organization which has any literature!

This step would cut across the suspicion campus radicals have of a socialist youth group that they can't join or participate in on campus. It would counteract the cloak-and-dagger image that our new left opponents use against us (secret meetings, etc.)

There would be no danger that the clubs could become a centrist alternative to the YS. The strength of our off-campus locals, *YSF* and the club's commitment to it, would assure their political line.

The clubs could play an important role in developing general socialist activity on the campus. In many areas, they could involve more students in activity against the war than the single-issue committees have been able to. They could carry educational and actions in support of revolutionary students in Europe and around the world. They would play the role that the NDY can no longer play of relating student issues to the labor movement, mobilizing youth **as youth** in support of the NDP and in opposition to the anti-labor drive.

The possibility mentioned above of establishing the YS as the leadership of the student power movement would be much greater if YS clubs were open to anyone to join, and involved forces larger than ourselves

Involving a large number of new youth, we could expand our activities on campus to meet the growing demand of the mass of students for socialist ideas through meetings, classes and literature. Those students who participate as active members of the campus YS will be immediate prospects for recruitment to the off-campus local.

## Conclusion

Our two major tasks in this period, to mobilize youth against U.S. intervention in Vietnam and to win these youth to class-struggle socialism, can be linked most effectively through the open work of the YS. We must encourage the identification of students with the colonial revolution and build from there towards a mass socialist student movement.



The decision of the last convention to launch the YS as an open organization has been overwhelmingly vindicated. We are now seen by student activists as **the** revolutionaries on campus, and theoreticians of the student movement. We should accept this responsibility with enthusiasm, and take the lead in presenting a revolutionary program for the student power movement and the youth anti-war movement, and involve as many youth as possible in the struggle to establish that program.

J.Frazer, Van-couver  
May 21, 1968

## **DRAFT POLITICAL RESOLUTION** (adopted 1967)

YS/LJS DB Vol. 4 No. 1 June 1968

Submitted by the YC National Executive Committee

### **Introduction**

The two years since our founding convention have been the years of Vietnam. The focus of world politics has been the revolution and mounting war in this country, where U.S. imperialism has gathered an army of half a million of its own and its "allies" troops, armed with the most fiendish and murderous weapons, with the aim of smashing the deeply rooted revolutionary struggle of the Vietnamese people. It has raised the stakes in this conflict through a direct assault on the workers state of North Vietnam, and threatens further expansion of the war. Vietnam has been a profound lesson in the true nature of imperialism. The heroic struggle of the Vietnamese has evoked a broad response, particularly among young people, and a strong anti-war movement has grown up on the international level.

Yet Vietnam is only the vanguard of an anti-imperialist struggle of world scope. Far from being an exceptional, accidental occurrence, Vietnam is the most advanced and acute example at this point of the world-wide struggle of colonial peoples against imperialism, a struggle which, as Johnson and McNamara are well aware, will shake the roots of international capitalism as it moves forward. The mobilization of U.S. imperialism against Vietnam is only part of the war drive of the U.S. and its allies, aimed at building a massive military machine sufficient to crush revolutionary movements around the world and, as in North Vietnam, assault the workers states.

Vietnam has been a test of radical forces around the world and has proven again the bankruptcy of Stalinism and social democracy. Social democratic leaderships have either openly supported the imperialist war (e.g., the Wilson government) or like the NDP, have offered friendly criticisms of LBJ's tactics, while blocking formation of a mass anti-war movement. (Japan is a notable exception here). Moscow has failed to place its gigantic military power on the scales against U.S. escalation. Far from leading a world movement of support for the revolution, and supplying Vietnam with truly adequate military and economic aid, it has issued perfunctory statements against U.S. policy while apparently seeking some back-door deal with imperialism. The Communist Parties under its leadership have discouraged the formation of the anti-war movement, or in a few cases (particularly on this continent) have entered it while attempting to divert it in the direction of liberal-coalitionist politics. The Mao leadership has confined itself largely to a war of words against imperialism, while its virulent sectarianism has helped block the struggle to build an effective united front against U.S. aggression.

Thus Vietnam illustrates the central problem of our epoch, the crisis of leadership. The combined strength of the workers' states, and workers' movements around the world, could defeat U.S. aggression in Vietnam and help ensure the victory of the Vietnamese revolution. But the workers states, with few exceptions have failed to respond, as have Stalinist and social-democratic parties around the world. In this they are only repeating the policies which have led to a whole series of lost revolutionary opportunities and calamitous defeats around the world in

past decades, like the recent debacle in Indonesia. These class-collaborationist and anti-revolutionary tendencies pose a gigantic roadblock before the future progress of socialist revolution.

Today we can see signs that these tendencies are beginning to be bypassed by new revolutionary forces. The Cuban revolution bypassed the Stalinist party and has since evolved generally to the left under an independent leadership with an internationalist and anti-bureaucratic orientation. It has helped inspire the many new groupings across Latin America which have broken free from the old C.P.s and are working for the armed struggle against imperialism. Cuba, backed by North Vietnam and North Korea, has called for an international united front for all-out aid to the Vietnamese revolution. In countries around the world we can see the efforts of new forces to break free of the old mis-leaderships and build new revolutionary organizations.

It is the young generation which will take the lead in carrying out the work of building a new revolutionary leadership. Our generation is not bound to the old leaderships by traditional loyalties, and it has not experienced the demoralizing betrayals and defeats of past decades. Our generation has the greatest stake in the future, and the greatest energy in action. Youth have been in the forefront of the anti-war movement around the world, and, moreover, in the forefront of attempts to create new organizations with a revolutionary direction.

But youthful zeal and revolutionary fervor will not suffice to build a new revolutionary leadership. A program is needed, which encompasses the lessons of past generations of workers struggles and clearly indicates the future road, and a party, in which youth help to build a proletarian movement capable of leading the struggle for socialism. There has been much talk, on several continents, of how the young revolutionaries are breaking with all the traditions of the past and creating a truly "new left". But no new path has been discovered, and no new theory and new program developed. Young radicals are confronted with the basic alternative of revolutionary Marxism and the various varieties of reformism and Stalinism. Only Trotskyism, the continuator of Marxism in our epoch, can provide the program and organizational foundation for building this new leadership. Our task in Canada is to bring young radicals to the program of revolutionary socialism — of Trotskyism, to integrate them into the Trotskyist movement, and thus enlist them in the struggle to build the revolutionary party of the Canadian working class.

## **The Nature of Youth Radicalism**

Vietnam has been the main cause of the radicalization of a small but significant layer of youth in advanced capitalist countries in recent years, a radicalization deeply rooted in the present world situation. This is a world of revolutionary change — as is apparent enough from TV and newspaper reports of struggles not just in Vietnam but around the world. It is also a world of war, in which the nuclear war drive threatens the very future of humanity. Vietnam has convinced most Americans that their president is a liar. But the "credibility gap" widens, and young people come to question what they hear on social questions far removed from Vietnam. In the context of the present war drive and revolutionary struggles, they come to question the politics, the ideology, and the structures of present society.

If the world situation has provided the main impulse for radicalization among youth, the specific character of youth radicalism flows from the characteristic problems, and the distinctive forms of oppression which youth suffer. The opposition among youth to the war in Vietnam is closely interlinked with their struggles to free themselves from the tyranny, for example, of family and school. The "crisis of adolescence" is an inevitable part of being educated for an inhuman class society, and the rebellion against the indignities which youth suffer has the potential of easily passing over into a rebellion against the whole society.

Only a few years are available to hammer young people into the capitalist mold, to teach them the capitalist ideology and yoke them to its discipline. The oppression of the young is more brutal and more direct than of working people as a whole. Young people must face the often brutal discipline and hierarchy of the schools, subjugation to the will of their parents at home, and discrimination by age at every turn. Thus no one is in a better position to recognize the hypocrisy of the system, the talk of freedom, and the reality of dictatorship and hierarchy; the talk of love, and the reality of a hypocritical and false morality; the talk of justice, and the reality of class rule and imperialist war. Youth is period of broad questioning, of distrust and cynicism against the old world and its spokesmen, often linked to the search for a better way of living than that offered by the system.

The nature of the radicalism of youth determined the need for a youth movement to win them to revolutionary socialism. Youth who are in revolt need their own organization, which reflects their spirit, talks of their problems, and leads them in their struggles. Each generation comes to socialism by its own road, and the young rebels do not immediately fit into adult workers organizations centered on problems different from their own, based on traditions which they have not assimilated. Young radicals are in revolt against the establishment of bourgeois society. Rather than accept a ready-made leadership of an established adult radical tendency, they must throw forth their own leadership through their own struggles. The YS/LJS strives to be the vehicle through which youth will join the revolutionary movement, and be enlisted in the struggle to build a Vanguard party. The YS/LJS is not a junior replica of the LSA-LSO. We are something qualitatively different, in that we have the specific task of reaching out more broadly to attract the wide range of radical youth who are not necessarily prepared to make the long-term commitment of joining an adult workers organization. The nature of our task conditions every aspect of our work from our program to the principles of our internal organization.

Our natural field of activity is the student arenas. University and high school students identify themselves as youth, and feel the turmoil of youth most intensely. Schools and campuses provide the natural basis for organization. We also recruit some young, unattached workers or unemployed, who still think of themselves as youth (and ex-students must play a major role in the leadership of the YS/LJS). But once young people have established themselves with a permanent job and a family, they meet the problems and assume the responsibilities of workers, and their activities flow along new channels: trade union work, the NDP, adult anti-war committees, etc.

We must emphasize the presentation of a youth program, oriented to the problems and struggles of young people. Our program must encompass the struggle for democracy in the high schools and universities, outline the kind of education we are working for as socialists, what we

have to say about the bourgeois family structure, and bourgeois personal morality, particularly as it affects young people, the discrimination against youth in seeking jobs and learning a trade, the various forms of discrimination against young women.

Young people have a wide range of interests. The young person coming around the radical movement is interested in much besides politics — mathematics or hockey, poetry or philosophy. The search for an alternative which leads some to politics, leads youth as well to the philanthropy of community work, the abstract "truth" of religion or philosophy or scientific research, or the self-expression of art. In the past, we have often avoided dealing with such subjects in our press or forums in the belief that they are not of political significance. This mistakes the spirit of youth radicalism. We must show the relevance of revolutionary politics to all these concerns.

The YS/LJS must recruit more aggressively and at a more basic level than the adult League. Youth search for alternatives. It is normal and proper that a young radical join our revolutionary organization before he has decided on his total future course. His experience in the YS/LJS will enable him to make that decision. Workers have little choice in determining their future and are forced towards an understanding of their situation in society. Students however have no direct relationship to production and possess, or think they possess, a wide choice as to their future course. Their experience in the YS/LJS will develop their identification with the working class and help them decide to dedicate their lives to the cause of proletarian revolution. We must pose the necessity of joining the YS/LJS before our contacts, and make the youth movement a testing and training grounds for revolutionaries. We recruit on the basis that a contact understands our goal, is loyal *to* the organization and is in general agreement with the basic aspects of our program — we should not be concerned if a certain proportion of new recruits soon leave the movement — this is an *inevitable* part of an aggressive recruitment policy designed *to* maximize the number we integrate into the movement.

Young people need a revolutionary socialist youth movement. Some of our opponents in the U.S. have attempted to build "broad" youth formations like the DuBois clubs, which claim to include a wide variety of tendencies, have an extremely *limited* program and no defined relationship to the parent party. These are *in* reality only youth fronts, manipulated by the party, incapable of developing a youth leadership, or of responding to the needs of youth. We recognize the value of work in broad youth formations as a means of building our own Trotskyist youth group. But our purpose is to build the revolutionary party in Canada, and to educate and prepare the cadre for this party. We are a Trotskyist youth movement, and we openly declare our fundamental agreement with the program and principles of the LSA-LSO. The YS/LJS is no passive appendage of the League. We are an organizationally autonomous part of the revolutionary movement, governed by the principles of democratic centralism. To carry out our long-range task of building the Canadian Section, we undertake a whole range of independent youth actions, aimed at drawing youth directly to ourselves, putting forward our youth program. We assign a large proportion of our most able comrades to the internal tasks of building the movement; educational, organizational, contact work, etc. We develop our own leadership, with the experience required to lead the struggles of socialist youth in Canada.

Young people rebel against the tyranny and arbitrary discipline they experience at home and at school. The YS/LJS must reflect the drive for freedom and *the* energy and initiative of



youth. We are governed by democratic centralism, and educate our members to understand and accept its principles. But democratic centralism operates with the greatest flexibility and sensitivity, and in the YS/LJS we shape *it to* encompass the rebellious spirit of youth.

### **The Vacuum on the Left before Canadian Youth**

There is no doubt that the international situation has created a favourable objective situation for the radicalization of youth. Its impact is bolstered by the labor struggles in Canada, and by the growing crisis of the school system and the bourgeois family structure. Yet we have seen no broad radicalization among Canadian youth since the last convention. The previously established organizations of radical youth, the New Democratic Youth and Student Union for Peace Action (SUPA), have declined in size and influence. A radical youth movement in Canada hardly exists, while radical sentiments and opinions are obvious among large numbers of youth, it is unlikely that much more than 1,000 young people are active members of radical youth groups of any description.

The main cause of this startling discrepancy lies with the established currents on the left who, far from attracting youth, have placed a roadblock in the path of their radicalization. These currents, like the NDP and CP, influence large numbers who may not even come in contact with them organizationally.

### **The New Democratic Party**

For seven years, the New Democratic Party has consistently been the focus of our politics. The NDP represents a fundamental break with capitalist politics for the Canadian working class. It contains the most advanced elements of the working class, and its conferences and conventions are filled with delegates from the key union locals across the country. The NDP is the arena in which the programmatic alternative, before the working class is clearly posed: liberal reformism or socialism. As Canada's sole mass organization of the left, entered in a contest for political power, it can arouse mass support among youth. We give the NDP our unconditional support, we join it, we work in it, and we struggle to win it to our program.

The New Democratic Youth has had a great importance in the development of the YS. For many years it was our main area of work, and it has been the arena of the great political struggles where the cadre of the YS, and to a considerable extent of League (*LSA*), were forged. Its (*the NDY's*) federal membership has remained between 2-3,000, many times higher than any other radical youth organization.

The NDY was faced from the outset with the hostility of the Party leadership to the youth movement. The Party has imposed a puppet leadership on the Youth of do-nothing careerists, who understand "organization" chiefly as engineering packed conventions and expulsions. The NDY has almost never held major actions in its own name, let alone actions of the militant character that could attract broad layers of young people. Its leadership has bitterly fought the attempts of the left to draw it into the anti-war movement or into rank-and-file struggles for student democracy. It has utterly failed to attract young people beyond the circle of party supporters: recruitment to the NDY has always been limited to party children and to those who already supported the NDP. During the past two years we have found more and more that militant youth would join the NDY only when they understood our whole perspective of the NDP as a labor party and the struggle for a socialist program.

The NDP-NDY has thus posed a giant barrier to the development of youth radicalism. Young people who might be attracted to this mass party have run up against a party machine with no place for youth, and an NDY of stodgy conservatism, of bureaucratic tyranny punctuated with expulsions, of abstention from the real struggles of youth.

Today, the NDY is almost defunct on the federal level. Only scattered clubs remain active across the country. On the campus, with a couple of exceptions, the clubs are weak and abstain from activist movements. Expulsions of leading left NDYers have further discredited the NDY in Ontario, where it has, in fact, almost disappeared in the last six months.

## **Opponent Tendencies**

The best known radical youth tendency, the Student Union for Peace Action, has suffered a considerable decline in the past two years. It has opposed the New Democratic Party, the trade unions, and the growth of the anti-war movement, and thus has stood outside the three main arenas for radical action in the past few years. Its own special emphasis on community projects and student politics has led nowhere. SUPA has failed entirely to develop a program, and for this reason, behind the radical verbiage, there lies little but endless soul sessions and various forms of reformist and coalitionist projects (like the orientation to Canadian nationalism).

SUPA retains a small group of experienced leaders, considerable financial resources and connections in the university establishments, as well as a wide reputation built up by the popular press. As an ideological opponent, it has great significance for us, and it has used its resources and reputation to disorient the radical movement and repel considerable numbers of young people out of politics.

Little now remains of the large number of left wing nationalist organizations which have sprung up in Quebec over the past five years. Groups like the Mouvement de Libération Populaire and the Parti Socialiste du Québec have failed to find solutions to the most burning problems before Quebec radicals, like the relationship of the national question to the class struggle of the workers, the need for political action, the need for a labor party, and of the international perspective for socialist revolution. Today the PSQ is an ineffective centrist sect, while its tiny youth group, the Jeunesse Socialiste Québécoise, has split away from the PSQ in a Maoist direction.

The terrorist groups attracted a number of the most dedicated and most militant young radicals, and partially derailed for a time the radical youth movement. Through it, many militants were subjected to brutal persecution, and effectively dispersed, without having built any durable organization for the Quebec revolution.

The Communist Party remains unable to set up a functioning youth movement. Its experiments with "youth clubs"—constituent parts of the party (eg., Toronto Orenda Club) and with "broad" program-less youth fronts (e.g., Hamilton Youth Union) have been without great success. Wherever CP youth formations have developed politically, oppositional currents have emerged. The Communist party has nothing to say, and nothing to offer radical youth.

There remains a certain periphery around the CP, whose children often come in contact with it. For this reason, we should seek from time to time to arrange debates, discussions or united fronts with CP youth formations who often appear now as our main organizational opponents. On the whole, the CP has played a very negative role, repelling those who might mistake it for a revolutionary party.

In summary, we see that none of the previously established tendencies which youth have approached or looked to in past years have succeeded in attracting substantial youth forces. The anti-war movement, far from building the forces of these radical tendencies, seems to have been sucking out their members in some numbers. Their failure is in large part the cause of the small size of radical youth forces in Canada today. We now see a most striking contradiction between the objective possibilities for youth radicalism and the weakness of existing tendencies, none of which can muster more than 100 active members. There is a very real vacuum among the forces of the left. Under these conditions, the first moves towards youth radicalization will likely be in the form of single-issue protests, either on world issues like Vietnam or questions which affect students' own lives like student democracy. None of our opponents has the forces or the program to make rapid gains out of these movements .

### **For an Open Organization**

This vacuum on the left gives us a unique opportunity to move out openly, and win radical youth directly to ourselves. No radical tendency, not even the NDY, contains a large body of radicals towards which we might orient for potential recruits, and no other organization has much perspective for rapid growth among youth. Furthermore, of existing left tendencies, we are in many ways in the strongest competitive position in terms of our program, our Canada-wide organization and the strength of our forces-.

The prospects for the development of a socialist youth movement are excellent. The rise of the anti-war movement is a good sign that, given some leadership, students will respond in building a political protest movement. we have seen more frequent and more important protests and demonstrations on university questions. The example of the labor movement has had a considerable impact on youth. Most important, the struggle in Vietnam is continuing and deepening, and extending to new fronts.

It is therefore politically necessary for us to proceed to found an open organization in English Canada, as we have already done in Quebec. The examples of the LSA-LSO and the LJS show us how a revolutionary organization functions publicly in Canada, and particularly how it can combine open work with activity in movements like the NDP or the anti-war movement. But while the LSA-LSO's work is shadowed by mass organizations of the workers like the NDP and the trade unions, the YS/LJS, working in this vacuum, can move out much more boldly in expanding our open work. European youth movements and the YSA can give us many examples of the type of youth actions we can carry.

It is the norm for revolutionaries to function openly. The YS was founded as an open organization, and gave up its open face in 1961 only in view of its weakness and the necessity of having the greatest impact in the NDY then in formation. Even then, we could make this decision because of our ability to utilize the open face of the League. But it is far more effective to proclaim our ideas publicly, as well as through the medium of other organizations, where they may be muffled by the demands of tactical situations. An open organization can speak to, and attract an incomparably broader circle of contacts. It united theory and practice in our open work. Contacts who agree with our program are called on to join our organization to promote it. An open organization cuts across the prejudices against us as "infiltrators" or "subversives". All this is even more true in the youth arena, for youth do not have the old prejudices against our ideas, and tend to be repelled or disoriented by the cloak and dagger atmosphere which a movement working essentially "underground" inevitably engenders.

The effectiveness of our open activities has grown immensely since our last convention, and we can now say that the transition to an open organization has been carried out in many respects. In Quebec, with the foundation of the LJS, it has already been completed. We have published a magazine and circulated it widely, maintained our own headquarters, held regular public functions of many types, and even run for the highest civic offices. But the constitution of a public organization will enable us to move out much more boldly and effectively in this direction. The vast majority of our members will be enabled to function openly, and this will greatly strengthen every aspect of our open work. We can then strengthen our program of regular public activities, which should feature a variety of activities: forums, socials and cultural events, designed to make us the center of discussion and socializing for young people interested in radical ideas. We can move out much more boldly in organizing actions and demonstrations on youth issues. We can work under our own banner in building the anti-war movement, and build nationally-known spokesmen for the YS and LJS through this and other arenas of work. We can present contacts much more directly with the need for them to join the YS and LJS.

We can benefit from the weakness of our rivals by presenting the YS and LJS in the most popular way as the organization of socialist youth in this country. We will of course strongly support the NDP, and we can present ourselves as "the socialist youth movement that supports the NDP". On the other hand, we will affirm that we are a revolutionary socialist youth organization based on Marxist theory and program, and we will not hide the fact that we are Trotskyist, or our solidarity and fundamental political agreement with the LSA-LSO.

## **The New Democratic Youth**

The development of the NDP will continue to play an important role in the work of the YS/LJS. Young people will continue to be attracted towards the NDP as the one mass political organization of the left in Canada. It is hard to see how the party brass can indefinitely tolerate a situation where we are the only active youth formation identifying itself with the NDP. A revival of the NDY or some similar grouping is quite likely at some point, though probably stripped of its federal structure and its pretensions to internal democracy and autonomy. Or we may see mainly constituency based organizations aiming to encompass young people, like some church auxiliary, through social activities and canvassing.

Our orientation to the NDP has always been a highly flexible one, that enables us to shift to meet the various possibilities before us. Under present conditions, we cannot regard the NDY as a major work area for the Canada-wide movement.

We cannot assume the responsibility for building it. We will work in the NDY to the extent that it exists as a viable organization and gives us opportunities to make valuable contacts and do rewarding propaganda work, as it does, to some extent, in Alberta and British Columbia. We will be prepared, if the NDY is revived in a big way, to move forces back into it, and take advantage of the opportunities it would present. We will search for opportunities to meet young people that will be attracted to the NDP — wherever they are — and to carry to them our view of the party and our case for a socialist program.

## **Our Work in Quebec**

Our most important achievement since the last convention has been in establishing our movement in Quebec. We have built a very promising local, which has already established itself through a successful series of forums, and through anti-war work on both French and English campuses. At the same time, we have become the foremost exponents and defenders of the Quebec struggle across Canada.

From the first, we have recognized the existence of the French-Canadian nation, with its common language, history and cultural tradition, its common territory in and around Quebec, and recognized the growing national consciousness of French Canadians of their status as an oppressed, subordinate nation within the present confederation. This national consciousness is most pronounced among Québécois youth, who recognize the discrimination they suffer as French-Canadians, and thus see more clearly than their English-Canadian brothers how their personal prospects are limited and confined by our society.

In several respects, Quebec is now leading (the rest of Canada) in the development of social struggles. Past years have seen massive union struggles in Quebec, of an unprecedented scope, including large numbers of white collar workers and professionals. At the same time, many new layers of supposedly privileged or professional workers have entered the organized labor movement. This wave of union organization and union militancy has had an enormous impact on Quebec youth, so that the majority, even in the universities, must see in the struggles of the union movement the image of their own future.

Quebec young people are at present more open to radical ideas, and to radical action than elsewhere in Canada. The students have a strong union, UGEQ, which embraces many students below the university level and sets a certain political atmosphere of radicalism in student circles through its radical stands on the Vietnam war, in labor struggles, etc. On occasion it has led massive and effective mobilizations of students, though on the whole it is a bureaucratically run organization that only reflects in a veiled way the growth of radicalism and does not encourage rank-and-file protest movements among its membership. Nonetheless Quebec students have mobilized on several occasions in large numbers on a variety of issues: the



struggle for students' rights, against the Vietnam war, for self-determination for the French Canadian nation, and in support of labor struggles. The Quebec student arena is a very favourable one, where we can vastly increase our influence and our numbers in the next year.

We defend the right of French Canadians to determine their own fate, and to determine the relationship, if any, which they desire with English Canada. We oppose the existing Confederation as the legal embodiment of the subordination of French Canada. We stand for the unity in action of English and French Canadian workers, fighting against the capitalist order which is their common oppressor, and for socialism, within which the free resolution of the national question will be possible. We promote the building of a labor party in Quebec, and within that framework, we present the need for this party to have a socialist program.

Our youth program in Quebec must deal with the specific problems of Québécois youth. For example, the Quebec educational system, superimposes an obsolete and inefficient structure and educational philosophy on all the injustices and indignities common to the English Canadian schools. Young people, particularly of French nationality, must leave school and seek jobs, generally unskilled, at an earlier age. The scandalously low minimum wage laws are designed to encompass young Québécois as a pool of cheap labor. The Church in Quebec is the main ideological prop of capitalism, and the revolt of youth against the ideology and privileges of the Church plays an important part in their radicalization. Young women in Quebec are subject to particularly backward laws, deprived of many of the most minimal civil rights, and subject to a much more widespread, blatant male chauvinism, propagated by the Church, the educational system, and all other ideological arms of the ruling class. Most important, French Canadian youth are subject to a national discrimination, and must struggle for equal rights in seeking jobs, and equal rights to live and work in their own language and culture — and struggle for their right of national self-determination.

The Ligue des Jeunes Socialistes was established from the outset as a public organization, and has shown in life the validity of the perspective of an open organization outlined here for the YS. The LJS provides us with a separate public face for Québécois youth, but makes clear its political agreement with the LSO, and that it forms part of a common movement with the YS. Since the YS was constitutionally defined by the 1965 convention as an English-Canadian organization, the LJS was formed as an independent group in Quebec. Despite this formal separation, we have functioned over the past year, in fact, as part of a common youth movement. Our work has been marked by a valuable interchange of experience, and a close collaboration in many important areas. We propose at this convention to formalize this relationship, by altering the YS constitution to encompass the YS and LJS forces in a revolutionary-socialist youth organization spanning all of Canada.

## **The Anti-war Movement**

The anti-war movement has emerged as the fastest growing area of external work for the YS and LJS in the past year. Vietnam is the biggest political issue today among Canadian youth, and the most immediate factor in their radicalization. The escalation of the war, the increasingly frequent and devastating revelations of the true nature of the war, and the growth of the anti-war movement across this continent, makes Canadian support for the war more and more untenable in the eyes of young people.

The anti-war movement among Canadian youth was slow to mature. The war in Vietnam has a less direct impact here, owing to the absence of the draft, the fact that Canadians are not doing the fighting in Vietnam, and the hypocrisy of government policy. In addition, at first the anti-war movement was frustrated by the attitude of established radical tendencies. The NDP leadership, through the NDY, threw its weight against the building of the anti-war movement, even to the extent of disciplining anti-war activists. SUPA has regarded the anti-war movement as a competitor. Nonetheless, with the expansion of the war, and our energetic intervention, a student movement of considerable scope has grown up.

The mass organizations of the working class did not move out to lead the formation of the anti-war movement in Canada, and we have therefore worked to organize it through independent membership committees, in the community and on the campuses. In Quebec, these committees can link the demands of self determination in Quebec and in Vietnam, and encompass the national aspirations of the Quebec people. In English Canada, on the other hand, given the attitude of the mass workers organizations, the various forms of "multi-issuism" that have been proposed only harness the anti-war movement to middle class concerns like "Canadian independence", and we have worked to maintain the single-issue character of the movement.

The main task in the coming year is to build the student committees, and draw them together more firmly into SAEWV, their Canada-wide association. We must plan and carry out effective country-wide actions? based in the universities. We must build the high school anti-war movement in all areas, and promote independent high school actions, oriented to the high school milieu. In Quebec, we must work to build a living movement on the French-Canadian campuses, and to bring the Quebec committees together in a national association. The student committees are now quite narrow. We must aim to keep their appeal broad, and to open them up to new forces. We must struggle firmly to commit the committees to our program, of self-determination, for immediate withdrawal of U.S. troops, and against Canadian complicity. We must put real life in the committees. We must make the committees centers of political education, which study and discuss the war in all its aspects. We are now meeting many of our best contacts in these committees, and for others, these committees become the main field of political action. Thus the committees are among our most important areas for contact work, for circulating our literature, and for recruitment.

Submitted by the National Executive Committee, April 28, 1967

# YS/LJS DISCUSSION BULLETIN

*The Challenge Before Us  
Leadership -  
The New Radica*

VOL. 4  
NO. 2

JUNE  
1968

## CONTENTS:

- (F) 1. The Press Resolution - submitted as a resolution by the CEC
- (G) 2. On Our Press - by Ian A. (3pp)
- (H) 3. Amendments to the 1967 Political Resolution - (adopted 1967)

(5pp)

(5pp)

(p.1)

PRESS RESOLUTION

- submitted by the CEC

Since our press is the most important instrument of our intervention in Canadian youth politics, it is important for us to analyze the successes and failures of YSF in the period since the convention and to understand the direction of our press in the coming year.

YSF carries out the line decided by conventions. It is the key public expression of this line and as such is our most important single task. It is our press that makes us a thoroughly cross-Canada movement. Within the limits of its one language it spans all the peculiarities of the individual areas of this vast country. In parts of the country where we have no comrades, it IS the YS/LJS. Where we have comrades, the press centralizes all our different activities and work areas. It recruits new partisans of the revolution and it intervenes in situations more effectively than any one comrade or group of comrades could on their own. Long after the demonstration is over YSF still educates the protester.

It is because of this many-sided role that it has to play, a role which affects all our other work, that to produce the press is the first responsibility of our central leadership, and to circulate the press is the first responsibility of the whole movement. We know that around an effective press that carries the correct line of our movement we can eventually build our movement into the leadership of Canadian youth.

1967

The last convention oriented the newly-established YS/LJS toward the student milieu. It defined the high schools and universities as natural areas of youth work and set forth the task of making the YS/LJS a student movement. An important part of this was the task of making YSF a student magazine. The convention concluded that since there is an organizational vacuum on the youth left, that is, since there are no mass or even large radical youth movements at this time, the immediate task was to move out boldly as an open movement to bring as many of these newly radicalizing youth directly to us as we could with our tiny resources. This task was not portrayed as an easy one since there is a large gap between students who think that things in this world are not quite right, and us - a revolutionary socialist youth movement organized on the Leninist principles of democratic centralism. The task of bridging this gap sensitively was the main task outlined by the convention. It analyzed the nature of youth radicalism - a radicalism rooted in the crisis of youth created by the specific oppression against them as well as by the international crisis of capitalism. On this analysis we set forth to build effective bridges to bring these radicalizing youth to revolutionary socialism.

HOW HAS YSF CARRIED THE LINE OF OUR CONVENTION?

Our first issue after the convention set the tone for our year's work. Taking up the hypocrisy of the school system, the continual threat of wars, the prostitution of art, it put forward the alternative - socialism. It popularized our basic program and called on students who agreed with us to join the YS/LJS. Along with this manifesto we carried an indignant article on the school system entitled, "Why the Hell Can't we Get a Decent Education?". This article, which was picked up by several student papers across the country, is probably one of the best examples of YSF's success in carrying out the convention orientation.

YSF is now a student magazine, not a publication about the student movement. YSF discussed the issues being debated among radical students - student power,

the CYC, SUPA, Vietnam, students and working class politics. In the 6 issues since the convention, YSF carried 16 articles and editorials on student problems and student movements. Its other articles were all consciously oriented to students. They dealt with such topics as the woman question, art, the colonial revolution and Che, etc., with a view to exposing capitalism and showing the alternative. In dealing with the woman question, for example, we didn't just show the question in its generalities, we related it to the student experience and the school system. We didn't publish an article on "our position on Quebec"; we published "What's Bugging Quebec Youth?" When Walter described Canada's birthday party he was appealing to the sense of humour of young people and gaining their support on a very serious question.

Perhaps the most significant issue we've published yet was the one containing our line on Student Power. This article clearly outlined our program and met with an excellent response. Comrades intervened with it in all sorts of anti-war and student power struggles. The fact that it has already been republished in the Sask. NDY paper, Candor, gives an indication of the impact it had.

Two important aspects of YSF's direction in the past year were the guest articles and interviews on one hand and the articles showing our Marxist traditions on the other. Guest articles such as the one from Barrie Zwicker, Richard Thompson, Candi Clarke, effectively hit out against different aspects of the system, but their main value is that they give our magazine the broader appeal that is vital to the functioning of the YS/LJS, standing alone as the organized tendency on the youth left. The articles such as the one on the Soviet writers, the one on the Russian revolution, and the popular description of the crisis of modern capitalism based on Mandel's pamphlet, which were designed to bring our readers to revolutionary conclusions by showing our traditions, our depth and our internationalism, met with a good response. The Mandel article for example, received as many favourable letters as any other article we have carried in the past year.

In reaching out to attract students just beginning to radicalize we have had to recognize that youth in North America are trained by Madison Ave. to expect polish for their money. The expensive, glossy appearance we strive for is a concession to that prejudice. More important, however, is the fact that when revolutionaries do something they do it well. It is for these reasons that we are continually striving to professionalize all aspects of the magazine. The larger size of YSF is a major step in this direction and the addition of a full-time editor to the Central Office staff is another very important step towards a more professionalized production and circulation.

The biggest single accomplishment in our press over the past year has been the conscious development of YSF as a clear and consistent expression of the political line adopted at the convention and the building of a team that understands how to do that. With a full-time Editor the magazine can continue to improve in both these aspects.

The proof of YSF's effectiveness is in the circulation results. Our circulation has gone up from 2000 to 3500 over the past year. Every local has increased its bundle order as the year progressed, and one local, Ottawa, has raised its bundle order from 25 to 125, and sometimes 200. The fund drive, which was an appeal for funds to expand YSF, received an overwhelming response from comrades who sent us over the top of our ambitious goal. The sub drive too had an ambitious goal - much higher than we had ever aimed before - and here again we went over the top. On the YS/LJS tour, we sold YSF on almost every



country, and in the locals we began to sell YSF on the campuses on a more regular basis. During the sub drive, one local, Toronto, proved that it was a practical proposition to sell YSF subs door-to-door at university residences. In circulation we began to reap the gains of our correct student orientation.

### FUTURE DIRECTION

We are not faced with a new situation on the youth level in Canada. The lack of significant organized opponents on the left is a situation that continues to exist in the youth field. And the political consciousness of the student population has not altered qualitatively over the past year. Therefore we are still aiming our propaganda at the newly radicalizing students and we still have an educational job to do on all the most basic questions. Our main task remains-- that of basic propaganda work and cadre building. We still have to convince YSF's readers to become socialists. We should be sensitive to new developments, and particularly we should be attuned to the possibility of the development of a student NDY. If the NDY did develop, YSF would lead in the re-direction of our work. It would become the spokesman for the revolutionary socialist alternative to reformism-- for the revolutionary wing of the NDY. While we must be conscious of these possibilities, we must base our future directions not on guess work but on concrete projections for the near future based on the present analysis of the level and direction of the students.

Our press has very concrete tasks to perform, but how it performs them is determined by the specific circumstances in which it works. Our press can be extremely flexible to meet particular situations. YSF can be flexible in presenting our line not just because it lacks competitors, but also because it is not our only press. The Vanguard is unquestionably the voice of Canadian Trotskyism and as such it leaves the youth publication to be broader in its approach. In this context YSF has the task of becoming more of a FORUM, a forum which we sponsor and control, but nevertheless a forum. YSF has already moved to a certain extent in this direction, but we have a great deal more to do in this area. YSF can and must turn its pages over to a discussion of the questions being debated in the student movements, to articles by participants in student struggles and by student leaders.

The CEC Student Work Resolution has put a heavy emphasis on the need to expand our open work on campus, and in particular it sets as a priority in our campus work the bold selling of our magazine. It says: "Our purpose on the campus is clear. Armed with our program we will intervene to establish the YS/LJS as the best defender of the students' interests...." and "An important step towards the building of the YS/LJS in the universities is the establishment of our campus YS Clubs on a somewhat different basis.... They must eagerly seek out any student moving towards socialism and involve that student in the sales of YSF and other literature, in the distributions for events sponsored by the club, etc. But more than that, these people can be brought towards us far faster if they participate in the club discussions as club members and work with our comrades in the club itself."

This modification of YSF to emphasize a forum character is, then, tied to the formation of membership YS Clubs on campus. Both are interconnected tactical moves designed to help meet the problems and opportunities facing us. YSF can become, in a sense, the organ of these campus clubs. It should not only be a magazine with which the contacts can identify but a magazine which they will circulate. The campus YS clubs and YSF should be able to encompass under their umbrella these newly radicalizing students. In doing so they should also bring the contacts further, to revolutionary conclusions, to the YS/LJS.

This is not a big change in the direction of YSF but it is a move which would further our propaganda work and aid in recruitment.

YSF could be used as a basis for discussion in these clubs, as well as for source material on the student movement across the country and around the world. To do this YSF will need regular contributions from comrades in all areas across the country. As soon as something develops the first act of the comrades will have to be to send a comprehensive report on it in for YSF. And it is the comrades who will have to create the atmosphere about YSF in the clubs. Comrades can do this in many ways: by utilizing YSF when they give speeches or when they do contact work, and by finding other ways to show the value of YSF (YSF covers all the important lessons of the student struggles). But primarily it will be done by the lead our comrades will give in the sales of YSF. We will all have to become "vanguard workers" when it comes to work around the magazine so that our example will inspire the contacts to imitate us.

Sometimes we make the mistake of thinking that circulation of our magazine is a frill rather than the essence of our work, or that somehow in a certain situation we feel that literature sales are out of place. This is a fatal mistake. YSF should be seen as a door opener to future opportunities and a connection builder for our movement. Our magazine is the most acceptable and most attractive voice of the YS/LJS. It not only has a permanence that the spoken word can never have but it is also more effective than a single speech simply because it is a "collective effort-- the carefully reasoned effort of our most experienced comrades" (1965 Press Resolution.) YSF complements other forms of intervention. And where it seems otherwise impossible to intervene, YSF can easily solve the problem. Comrades not in the particular situation, not even on the campus can move in with YSF and intervene in a way that has an effect long after the action is over.

Our literature is never out of place, anywhere or anytime, from the most meager demonstration to the revolution itself. It is interesting that the major thrust of our American comrades' intervention in the Columbia U. situation was their sales of the Militant and the Young Socialist. They mobilized all the available comrades to go down to Columbia U. and sell because they knew the importance of this type of intervention. The Sorbonne, too, has been described by the bourgeois press as a "fair" where every radical tendency has set up a literature table and is selling like crazy. Around these literature tables the students gather and discuss theory and strategy while the organizations recruit. This has been so effective that nearly every organization has been cleared out of literature and when any more arrives the salesmen are mobbed by students wanting copies.

It is in this area, circulation, that we must put more emphasis in the coming year. We have done a fine job of circulating YSF in the past, but this becomes even more of a priority as new opportunities to build our movement open up. We have not projected any expansion of YSF in terms of periodicity or size because the political situation does not warrant such changes. What is projected here is a further professionalization and an expansion of our efforts around circulation. This means spending more of the movement's resources in promotional work, in posters, tours, etc. But primarily it means that the whole movement will have to get behind the circulation of YSF. We must set as a priority the bold selling of YSF everywhere, particularly

in the high schools and on the campuses.

### High School Sales

Over the past year our emphasis in high school sales has been on sales to the more political high school students who come to meetings and demonstrations. While an important aspect of our sales, this is only one aspect. We should intervene in high school student rights struggles by going to the schools involved and selling the magazine, thereby gaining contacts in the school. Our high school comrades should identify themselves with YSF by selling it discreetly inside the schools, where they are in the best position to meet good contacts in their schools.

Our limited resources at this time have prohibited the publication of two youth publications--one in English and one in French. While we probably will not be able to publish a French language publication in the coming year, we should move in this direction by printing some French statements of long range use (e.g., The Movement is Born manifesto). We should also be prepared to intervene in specific situations with French language throwaways. We must allot the resources in our central budget to do this.



## AMENDMENTS TO THE POLITICAL RESOLUTION (P.1)

In summary, we see that none of the previously established tendencies which youth have approached or looked to in years have succeeded in attracting substantial youth forces. The anti-war movement, far from building the forces of these radical tendencies, seems to have been sucking out their members. None of our opponents (the NDP-NDY, not an opponent organization has been dealt with above) has the forces or the program to make rapid gains. And their failure is in large part the cause of the small size of radical youth forces in Canada. There is a very real vacuum on the left before Canadian youth.

The weakness of the existing tendencies stands in contradiction to the objective possibilities of youth radicalism, and cannot long hold back such a radicalization. We have seen how, in the U.S., large numbers of youth have radicalized independently of all the old tendencies. It is characteristic of the radicalism of youth that it waits for no class, organization or leadership to show it the road. This radicalization in Canada will doubtless be uneven, and may not assume mass proportions for some time. But we can already see its first stages in the single-issue protest movements springing up, both on world issues like Vietnam or Rhodesia and on questions which affect young people's own lives like student democracy. In addition, we can already see the growth of unaffiliated radical groupings like the "Internationalists" of Vancouver or the "League for Social Action" of Halifax.

What does this "vacuum" mean for us? First, while opponent tendencies exist none contains a large body of radical youth towards which we might orient for our recruitment. Even more, the opponent tendencies have not yet constructed viable Canada-wide organization, and do not possess the program, the organization or the cadre to make rapid gains from this present radicalization, or to establish their hegemony over it. Of existing left tendencies, we are in many ways in the strongest competitive position in terms of our program, our program, our Canada-wide organization and the strength of our forces. Our task is to establish our hegemony across Canada of the socialist left, and win to the banner of revolutionary socialism the new wave of militant youth now beginning to appear in Canada today. The present vacuum on the left gives us a unique opportunity to do this by moving out openly, and winning radicalizing youth directly to ourselves. Flowing from this is the need now to form an open organization.

### FOR AN OPEN ORGANIZATION

For six years we have functioned without posing ourselves publicly as an organization--first completely underground, then as a "magazine". While this was necessitated by our NDY orientation, it has caused us many severe problems through the difficulty of posing ourselves as an alternative to those moving towards our political positions. In past years we have begun to make adjustments--the most notable of which was the foundation of the L.J.S. We are now at the point where an open organization is essential to our functioning in English Canada.

It is the norm for revolutionaries to function openly. The YS was founded as an open organization, and gave up its open face in 1961 only in view of its weakness and the necessity of having the greatest impact in the NDY then in formation. Even then, we could make this decision because of our ability to utilize the open face of the League. But it is far more effective to proclaim our ideas publicly, as well as through the medium of other organizations, where they may be muffled by the demands of tactical situations. An open organization can speak to and attract an incomparably broader circle of contacts. It unites theory and practice in our open work. Contacts who agree with our program are called on to join our organization to promote it. An open organization cuts across the prejudices against us as "infiltrators" or "subversives". All this is even more true in the youth arena, for youth do not have the old prejudices against our ideas, and tend to be repelled or disoriented by the cloak and dagger atmosphere which a movement working essentially "underground" inevitably engenders.

The launching of our open organization in English Canada does not conflict with our NDP orientation in any way. We will continue to support the NDP, and to argue the case for joining and building the NDP, and working to win it to socialism. As for the NDY, we have supported it because it is the youth arm to the NDP in the youth field, and our NDP orientation does not automatically apply to the NDY. In many parts of Canada the NDY is virtually defunct; in other areas, it is the lifeless tool of a right wing which blocks the road to the NDP for young people. We cannot give much meaningful support to the NDY under such circumstances.

We generally support the building of a mass all-inclusive autonomous NDP youth movement. Specifically, we support the NDY to the extent that it represents and helps promote this goal; to the extent that it exists and operates as a viable movement.

What will be the direction of our open work? We cannot ourselves fill the vacuum on the left by the failure of the NDP to build a viable youth movement. But we can take advantage of it to move out, to establish ourselves as the predominant socialist tendency among youth in Canada. We can take advantage of the weakness of radical groups to move out with our propaganda to the broad layers of youth just being touched by radical ideas. The larger part of our audience, and our potential recruits, will be found not in the opponent tendencies, or the radical groupings, but in the broader milieu of high school and university students just coming in contact with radical ideas, just starting on the road to radical action.

Given the default of the NDY and other tendencies, we now bear the responsibility for the basic socialist education of the new generation of young radicals. We must explain the socialist alternative--in all fields--and in so doing, our organization will become recognized as the socialist alternative for youth in Canada.



The anti-war movement has dramatically shown our ability to move out on our own, when other movements fail, to initiate and lead single-issue actions and movements. We may sometimes be able to do so in our own name; more often we will be able to be a leading part of a united front for specific goals.

The effectiveness of our open activities has grown immensely since our last convention, and we can now say that the transition to an open organization has been carried out in many respects. In Quebec, with the foundation of the LJS, it has already been completed. We have published a magazine and circulated it widely, maintained our own headquarters, held regular public functions of many types, and even run for the highest civic offices. But the constitution of a public organization will enable us to move out much more boldly and effectively in this direction. The vast majority of our members will be enabled to function openly, and this will greatly strengthen every aspect of our open work. We can then strengthen our program of regular public activities, which should feature a variety of activities: forums, socials and cultural events, designed to make us the centre of discussion and socialising for young people interested in radical ideas. We can move out much more boldly in organizing actions and demonstrations on youth issues. We can work under our own banner in building the anti-war movement, and build nationally known spokesmen for the YS and LJS through this and other arenas of work. We can present contacts much more directly with the need for them to join the YS and LJS.

In this way we can benefit from the weakness of our rivals and present the YS and the LJS as the organization of socialist youth in this country. The YS, on its founding, can be represented as a coming together of young socialists from many origins--YSF, NDY, anti-war. We will of course strongly support the NDP, and present ourselves as "the socialist youth movement that supports the NDP". On the other hand, we will affirm that we are a revolutionary socialist youth organization based on Marxist theory and program, and we will not hide the fact that we are Trotskyist, or our solidarity and fundamental political agreement with the LSA-LSO.

(p. 4.)

Amendment to the Political Resolution - (submitted by Jean R.) Adopted 1967.

"An addition on our approach to other tendencies and the NDY.

1. The New Left

"The radicalization of students around Vietnam and other issues and the continued quiescence of the working class and inactivity and conservatism of the NDP mean continued growth for the New Left, in various organizational forms, which identifies with the colonial revolution but, at least implicitly, rejects the working class in North America as a force for social change.

"In most situations, the non-exclusive policy of the New Left will make it relatively easy for us to intervene in the discussions and struggles that they are involved in.

"a) We can take advantage of the arena of discussion on the colonial revolution which the New Left provides. Through participating in their forums and their press (i.e. Words International, SUPA Newsletter) we can present our alternative to youth in areas where we don't exist.

"b) We should push the New Left organizations to participate in united front actions against the war in Vietnam, and we should make it as easy as possible for them to do so.

"c) Because of the weakness of the anti-war movement here compared to the U.S., we should participate in united front-type activities around other issues as well if we are to win radicalizing youth as they come in contact with other political tendencies. We can participate in the leadership of student struggles either as part of New Left

(P.5)

organizations, or in united front with them. This both brings us into contact with the youth around the New Left and establishes our comrades, identified clearly with our movement, as leading student radicals.

## 2. The C.P. Youth

"Although the CP is in crisis, there are still hundreds of young people across Canada interested in radical politics, whose only political experiences have been in or around the CP. These youth provide a valuable area of contact work and recruitment for us. The YCND experience in Toronto, which enabled us to destroy the CP as an effective opponent on the youth field and started a chain reaction of recruitment which we still benefit from; remains a valid guide for action in local areas and on the national level where the CP remains an important opponent.

"We leaned over backwards to enable CPers to work with us, gave them everything organizationally. In the process we not only exposed them, won their periphery and began recruiting from the CP; we also mobilized radicalizing youth and brought them around our movement. The anti-war movement provides us with the possibility of extending our success in Toronto, but only if we carry a very sensitive policy, aimed at pushing them and encouraging them into united front action. This approach is not contradictory to the building of our public face and carrying bold actions in our own name. Our mayoralty campaign in Vancouver complemented our united front anti-war work and was also responsible for the breakthrough we have made into the CP.

## 3. The NDP/NDY

"Our most important task in dealing with other political tendencies and with newly radicalized youth is to explain our working class orientation, and specifically, our orientation to the NDP/NDY. Our orientation, to the NDY itself, must vary drastically across the country, but everywhere it is important that we cut across the anti-Trotskyist prejudices in the NDY and present our NDP orientation to NDYers.

"We must explain to radical students that any effective radical youth movement must be part of the labor movement, of the NDP. And we must explain to NDYers that the NDY can only be built as a non-exclusive youth movement.

"To meet these needs, and allow the flexibility necessary across the country, this convention should demand the right of the YS/LJS and other political youth organizations to affiliate to the NDY."



*Harvey*

YS/LJS  
DISCUSSION  
BULLETIN

CONTENTS:

VOL.4  
NO. 3

JUNE  
1968

On Campus Work - by Blaine, Forter and Ken H.

*abstained*

*defeated.*

10¢



## ON CAMPUS WORK

### INTRODUCTION:

The development of an adequate political line on the campus situation must be based from a clear analysis of the campus political situation and the roots of student radicalism. It has become a common-place that campuses throughout the world are in ferment. It is equally cliched to state that Canadian campuses are different, "backward" in comparison with French, U.S., and German universities. The development of a sound analysis must transcend these cliches by specifying the common and differentiating features between Canadian and more developed campuses. We must find out if Canadian university students are doomed to remain politically less sophisticated or whether we may shortly expect them to follow the path of their more advanced counterparts elsewhere.

### THE ORIGINS OF STUDENT RADICALISM:

The problem with the assertions made by the CEC document on our campus work is that it assigns to extra-university factors the determination of the political level of U.S. and European campuses. It is undeniable that the role of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam, and the contradictions within U.S. society at home, are basic radicalizing factors for U.S. students. The radical traditions of the French working class and the political influence of the CP are likewise of importance in the French context. These factors will not suffice to give an adequate explanation however. For one thing, neither is operative in the German situation. More profoundly, however, this type of argument does not explain why of all social strata, it should be the students who respond to these contradictions in their societies. After all, the working class is equally affected by this situation; and European students are still overwhelmingly from middle-class backgrounds (only 5% of German students in universities are working class): the traditional bulwark of European reaction. It is clear that the source of student radicalism must be sought within the changing structure of the university itself. In the words of Ernest Mandel: "Any analysis of the student revolt must start from one basic consideration: the university explosion."

The tremendous growth of the universities in capitalist society has produced profound changes in the nature of the university, the situation of the student within the university, and the social role and position of the student. The universities have increasingly become mass, impersonal institutes of technocratic instruction. Students have become increasingly reliant on their own resources both for financing and performing in the university. The university student is no longer offered immediate access to the social elite: his education is often irrelevant to future occupations, jobs are scarce and the graduate is often no more than a technical or white collar worker. In short, the university student's position has become proletarianized. It is this which accounts for the changing social consciousness of the student and rising campus radicalism.

What this means in the Canadian situation is that the student power struggles here are not of the same level of maturity as elsewhere, primarily because the changes in the bourgeois university have not proceeded as far. On a crude statistical level: some 3% of the U.S. population is in university; in France, the figure is 1.5%; in Canada, the figure is just over 1%. More significantly, the French student population tripled



between 1954 and 1964; and increased by 67% in the four years from 1964 to 1968.

There can be little doubt that Canada is due to duplicate the development of other capitalist societies with respect to the university.

There are a number of interesting parallels between the origins point of the French student struggles, Nanterre, and Simon Fraser University. Both are new campuses built to relieve existing university facilities; both are located in workingclass areas; both were considered experimental pilot projects in university education; both had major sociology departments; both suffered from serious overcrowding and lack of facilities. Nanterre was the center, of France's student political movement; SFU is the most politically advanced campus in English Canada. It is probably not coincidental that SFU's summer enrolment was swelled this summer (2500 - twice as many as last summer) by the lack of job opportunities, and that this summer (only four weeks old) has seen one of the most developed student power struggles in English-Canada.

If this analysis is valid, then we are faced with the prospect of major and developing student power struggles in Canada. While anti-imperialist struggles, and particularly anti-Vietnam war activities, have already served to radicalize the student vanguard, and will continue to deepen the radicalization of students mobilized around student power questions, the initial focal point of student radicalization and mobilization for the whole next period will be questions pertaining to the structure and functioning of the university. It is these struggles which must be at the center of our campus work.

#### STUDENT POWER AND THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT:

It should be obvious by now that there are serious limitations on the development of the campus anti-war movement. The off-campus movement has already become mass in character, but such a perspective does not exist for the campus membership committees. The majority of students oppose the war, many are willing to demonstrate that opposition, but they are not willing to identify with the anti-war committees. Only on a few campuses, after more than a year of intense work and major escalations of the war, are the single-issue committees serious political factors. Nowhere are they mass organizations. SAEWV functions as no more than a central information body, and does not even fulfill that function adequately in the west.

Given this fact, we must realize that exclusively anti-war work cannot be at the centre of our campus strategy. It is also necessary to shatter the myth that the struggles around the ending of campus complicity are "student power" struggles. This claim is put forward, almost with the implicit contention that by projecting this slogan we are fulfilling our role in the developing student power movement. Student Power struggles are struggles over the structure of the bourgeois university; they arise from the student's experience in the university and aim at the restructuring of the university. Campus complicity is only one of the most dramatic examples of the nature of the bourgeois university. The struggle against it appeals primarily to anti-war activists, and does not directly relate to the restructuring of the university. As such it may be an essential component of a total student power program, but is more logically seen (both by us and the students we are addressing) as an anti-war struggle.

## STUDENT POWER AND THE NDY:

As far as the NDY goes, it continues to be non-existent on campuses. In the words of the 1967 Political Resolution, the claim of the CEC that the NDY might somehow revive and absorb the whole student power movement is sheer nonsense. It flies directly in the face of all the experiences we have had. Whenever the NDY has participated in Student Power struggles it has never been at the leadership, but rather it has tail-ended the movement in an unsure and incoherent fashion. At SFU the tendency has been for the Student Power movement to absorb the NDY. It seems clear that this will be the fate of any serious, radical NDY club. The Parliamentary criticism of the NDP bureaucrats makes it very difficult for any youth movement or organization linked to it to assume a leadership role in any direct action movement. The statements of NDY leaders at Banff this spring indicated that this has been the experience of the Saskatchewan and Alberta NDY's - the last foothold of the NDY is gone.

Nor is it correct to assume, as the CEC does, that the weaknesses of the NDY influence is due to the low political level of Student Power activists. To offer the example of the cool reception of "Confrontations" is banal. All it proves is that a good journal without a movement is meaningless. "Confrontations" has been circulated in most areas in opposition to the existing NDP-NDY leadership. It didn't even make a splash at SFU - but SFU students are hardly more backward than the NDP-NDY. The Student Power movement can orient towards the labour party. By its very nature it is forced in the direction of political action, and political action means the NDP. But this orientation will not be attained through the revival of a lost NDY. It will be through the creation of direct contact between the NDP and the Student Power movement. At SFU it is clear to all students that the NDP is our only reliable political ally. Eventually the student activists will run into conflict with the NDP bureaucrats. It is then that our line and presence will be the most crucial: it will offer us an unprecedented opportunity to popularize the labour party concept and urge student activists to carry their fight, with us, inside the NDP.

## THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDENT POWER MOVEMENT

The existence on campuses across the country of a large body of politically-conscious, serious, radical students is an undeniable fact. This group may be a moribund, confused and unorganized, but we cannot simply dismiss them as "hopeless centrists", or stick other meaningless labels on them. Another undeniable fact on Canadian campuses is a rapidly spiralling concern with the problems of university life on the part of most students. Put the two together and you have the student power movement. This process is alreadyeter lined. The questions we must answer are: What role will we play in the student power movement? What role will the student power movement play in our Campus work? I would reply: we must intervene in the formation of the movement and take leadership position where it already exists; the Student Power movement must be at the centre of our campus work.

Many of the comments the CEC takes about the clique-ridden nature of SDU's, the lack of national coordination and continuity of the movement as a whole, are perfectly valid. But all these make forceful arguments for our intervention in the movement. Only we can cross-cut the tendency to clique rule by promoting the necessary political concepts and structures. Only we can provide the movement with the correct program.

Only we can offer the movement a cross-country perspective and a measure of continuity.

In general the membership SDU's are the best organizational form for the student power movement. They permit the direct involvement of both the already radicalized and newly-radicalizing layers of students in the direction of the movement. They are also important means for short-circuiting the old student bureaucrats, and for transcending the elitist attitudes which permeate student politics. The immature and unformed nature of the movement requires the maximum flexibility on organizational questions. Where existing campus organizations retain substantial influence, and are willing to act on student power questions, united front formations may be advisable transitional forms. In some instances membership SDU's may prove to be premature, and a return to united front action, necessary. In the long run, however, it is towards the formation of SDU's that we should be oriented.

The questions around which student power actions will be built are many. Crises are endemic to the bourgeois university, occurring on questions such as free speech for faculty, fee raises, disciplining of students etc. It is action around these issues which inspire the most effective mass mobilizations. Where such issues are not existant, serious organization can take the place around such questions as bookstore and cafeteria services, unionization of university personnel, student participation in curriculum formation, hiring of new faculty etc. In fact the development of adequate programs in these areas is essential to transcend crisis organizing and give the movement continuity. Decentralized organizing around course curriculum problems permits the development of contact with the mass of students. All this must take place, of course, within the context of continuous propaganda on the need for the restructuring of the university power structure. Each isolated issue can be related to the broader demands, and a major crisis will permit the mobilization of the whole student body around these demands.

A cautious policy should be followed with respect to student council campaigns. At most universities student councils hold little real power attract little interest from most students, and are not considered representative by the bulk of students. Grass-roots and issue organizing may be a more meaningful activity than an empty political campaign. At the same time a premature move towards council politics might endanger the unity of the movement or threaten to divert it towards elitist politics. On the other hand, SFU shows clearly that a radical council campaign can inspire a large body of concerned students, and a radical council can be an important factor, particularly in crisis situations. The interest inspired in the council elections at SFU, however, could never have occurred if it had not been for the political organizing done by SDU the previous semester. Students had seen SDU in action, and were convinced of its seriousness and capability. SFU also gives ample evidence of the dangers of cooptation of even the most radical student power types.

It is essential that the SDU's do not become totally involved in council politics, and retain their organizational independence from council. It may well be best to run a radical slate on a student power program, but for ally independent from the SDU—that was the course followed at SFU. As an intermediate step individual YSers might run for council



positions on a student power program.

The possibilities of moving the student power movement towards political action and the NDP has already been discussed above. Once more caution is in order. It is important that we do not permit the level of struggle to escalate onto the political level too rapidly - in large measure that is what happened at SFU. The most important priority in the early confrontations on the campus is the involvement of the broad layers of students. This necessitates the development of a campus perspective and on-campus forms of action. Political action should only be projected in a propagandistic way in the initial stages. As the movement matures it will be possible to combine campus and political action, and involve the mass of students in both.

In general, the priorities for the student power movement must centre on the mobilization of the mass of students around the problems stemming from the structure of the bourgeois university. Once it has moved substantially in this direction the movement will then be able to move forward on broader social questions. While actions around broader social questions must be initiated, they will serve to deepen the consciousness of mobilized students, but not to mobilize them directly.

#### THE ROLE OF THE YS CLUBS:

We are faced with an unparalleled set of opportunities on the campuses in the next period. Our cardinal principle must be flexibility - particularly with respect to organizational questions. Our primary aim must be, in all areas of work, the direct involvement of the maximum number of students. The CEC has recognized this in its endorsement of our proposal for open YS clubs. The implementation of this will be an important means of making our campus movement more attractive to student activists, as well as a means of involving them directly in our work.

These clubs, composed of both comrades and sympathisers, will have a crucial role to play in the campus situation. The development of a broad program of socialist education is essential. In addition the club can organize united front actions around such questions as Vietnam, labour struggles, international struggles etc. The club should be seen as our voice on campus, but not necessarily as the vehicle for our line on all questions. That is, the club should be organized around the questions of socialism, Vietnam, and the NDP etc. It should function as the means for popularizing these ideas on campus, and for carrying them into the SDU's. It should be more flexible in relation to the SDU's however, not insisting on the elaboration of a common line on student power questions. This latter should be done by our comrades operating as a fraction. This will permit a more complementary relationship to be developed between the SDU's and the YS clubs, and permit the recruitment to the clubs of activists who share our general orientations.

In summation, the most important tasks for the YS clubs will be socialist education oriented to the student power movement. They must carry the Vietnam war and the NDP into the movement, and bring the movement towards the NDP and anti-war actions.

## THE QUESTION OF PROGRAM

The CEC contention that the program elaborated at our 1967 convention is adequate to meet the present situation cannot be taken seriously. The program was developed before we had any major experiences in student power organization, before such experiences had occurred. It is hardly surprising that the program emerges today as extremely confused. What does "public ownership of the university" mean? How can it be reconciled with "full autonomy of the university from the state" and "student control of the university"? Are labour representatives on the board (and, implicitly the perpetuation of the board) reconcilable with the idea of a student-faculty run university? These are no longer abstract questions of propaganda. Both B.C. Universities are developing concrete programs of university reform. We must have specific answers to these questions. The program does not offer them to us.

The CEC acknowledges the cruciality of program when it says: "So long as the administrations are willing and capable of granting reforms in this or that area, they will in all likelihood continue to head off the student power movement of a sustained character." This statement is not particularly profound, except in so far as it sounds like a quotation from Herbert Marcuse. The obvious response is the need to develop a program which will prevent the cooptation of the student movement. Yet the CEC claims our existing program is adequate.

A genuine transitional program for the student movement must start by elaborating a strategy aimed at student control of the university, not merely at participation in existing structures. To say that we do not oppose reformist demands for participation is trivial. The question here is what do we advocate as a program for the student movement. Demands for participation threaten us with the perspective the CEC warns of. A strategy of control permits confrontation without cooptation. Meaningful intermediate demands can be made, and concessions won, without the derailing of the movement. We must call for abolition of the Board of Governors, and the establishment of control by a student-faculty senate. We must call for the direct election of all top administrative personnel (President, Registrar, Vice-presidents, Bursar, Deans, Department Heads etc.) by students and faculty, and, where applicable, staff. We must urge the democratization of decision-making at all levels. The general principles guiding our program should be: 1. Control of the university by students, faculty and staff 2. Independent organization of the students—an independent students' council; participation in decision making through parallel student committees, responsible to the students involved 3. Parity between students, faculty, and staff in administrative decision making; between students and faculty in academic decision making.

Intermediate demands can be developed in specific situations: student control of bookstores, cafeterias, etc; creation of parallel student committees to bargain on curriculum problems (now being implemented at SFU); student control of discipline; right of student veto over appointments etc. The key unifying concept must be student control of student affairs, and a student government that acts as the collective representative of student interests, in the fashion of a trade union.



## CONCLUSION:

To approach the campus on a sure footing we must undertake a full and serious study of the changing nature of the university in bourgeois society. It seems clear, however, that major student struggles will develop and deepen in Canada in the next period. We must be in the forefront of these struggles, playing a leadership role wherever possible. We must develop a program accordingly: a program aimed at the transformation of the structure of the bourgeois university. At the same time we must promote our socialist ideas, involve the maximum number of activists in our work, and build the YS as the organization of radical Canadian students.

Blaine  
Forter  
Ken H.

# YS/LJS DISCUSSION BULLETIN

## CONTENTS:

The Builder

VOL. 4  
NO. 4

JUNE  
1968

(11p)

20¢

## **“The Builder”**

YS/LJS Discussion Bulletin Vol. 4 No. 4 June 1968

### **VANCOUVER**

The Vancouver Local has recruited ten new members since the last convention. The experience of the Vancouver Local in open work has completely justified the decision for an open organization and maintaining a separate organization; all but two of the new comrades attended our open functions regularly before joining. Most of the recruits can also be classified by the areas which they were active in; NDY - 2, Red Power - 2, Anti-War - 3, and high school 1.

The most successful open activities held by the YS (Young Socialists) were panel discussions featuring both members and non-members. The two forums held on Red Power were well attended and useful in establishing contact with the Indian community. Speakers from the United States are tremendously popular because of the identification of Canadian youth with struggles in the United States. The two series of classes on Marxist economics and the Vanguard Party were both successful in getting contacts to discuss our ideas and read revolutionary literature.

The YSF (*Young Socialist Forum*) sub drives have not been as successful as they could have been. Little effort was put into door to door mobilizations. We relied heavily on contacts for subscription sales. Hopefully the participation of comrades in the current *Vanguard* sub drive will teach youth comrades the necessity of extending our press beyond our periphery.

The campus single issue committees have failed to mobilize any significant number of independent youth. Our comrades carry the day to day work of the anti-war movement. The youth mobilization for the April 27 IDP (International Days of Protest against the war in Vietnam) was done by a youth committee of activists. There was no formal executive and anyone willing to work is encouraged to join the steering committee. The youth committee was tremendously successful in mobilizing larger numbers of high school students than ever before. Those students that do go on demonstrations identify with the Vietnamese revolution and feel the need to go beyond calling for the withdrawal of U.S. troops. The YS countered the sectarian and ambiguous slogans of the Maoists with "Defend the Colonial Revolution" and "Solidarity with Vietnam".

The most important aspect of the student power movement was the formation of SDU (Students for a Democratic University) at Simon Fraser (University, Burnaby, B.C.) Through a series of crises SDU has continued to build its support in the student body. The main fault of SDU organizationally has been that a small clique runs it, because there is no elected leadership. Our comrades are recognized activists in SDU. Our fraction on both campuses promises to be stronger than ever before. The CP (*Communist Party of Canada – Stalinists –ed.*) and Maoists have ignored the student power movement. We must seize this opportunity to lead and direct this growing movement to a correct program. There is little anti-Trotskyism except among older hardened types (Cleveland, Conway etc.)

The financial picture of the Vancouver Local has at least been consistent – broke. The opening of the headquarters definitely strained us but was justified in political returns. The picture is improving and it looks like we'll be able to increase our contributions to the Centre. Many of our comrades have been students or unemployed over the past period, but more comrades are beginning to realize their financial commitments to the movement. We have held suppers once a month since November, and are now holding monthly rent parties to increase our monthly income.

## **EDMONTON**

**Recruitment** – Most of our recruitment in the past year has been high school – overwhelmingly from the anti-war movement, although our open work has been instrumental in bringing them from opposition to the war to revolutionary socialism. Our size has doubled to eight (fluctuating slightly). New members have not gone through experiences with either the NDY (New Democratic Youth) or the CP before coming to us.

**Open Work** – Our Russian Revolution celebration (40) and Cuban films (200 came) were our most successful activities. We are now the only political youth group to hold regular meetings – especially since the virtual demise of the NDY. Since campus finished we have held successful meetings of 10 to 15 – mostly high school students. Over the past year we have learned the importance of public YS meetings – where we present our ideas to contacts regularly and eventually recruit them. Our Open House aims at a relatively low political level of audience since most of them are completely new to politics.

Our literature sales, an important part of our open work, average about \$100 per month. Our YSF circulation has gone up to about 100 copies per issue – recently we sold 20 at a single high school. To add to our literature for sale, we have set up a small library. This is very important since there are not very many sources of information in Edmonton for educationals, etc.

Our internal educationals have been a little erratic – there are so few of us to give them, and we have not put enough stress on them. This summer our main priority is educationals. There will be a great improvement in educational work in locals like Edmonton when we are strong enough to devote time in the centre to education. This will allow us to benefit from the experiences of other locals – for example, tapes of good talks and lists of films available. We hope that the long-awaited educational director will be created in the coming period.

**Anti-War** – The high school anti war group which was started last fall never really got off the ground because of poor leadership, but the high school students at the Oct. 21 and April 27 protests were numerous. Our high school comrades will be able to mobilize the new contacts met at these protests for the next international action.

On campus we are the only political tendency involved in UAVAC, while the NDY and SDU make only token efforts such as appearing at the demonstrations and some of the meetings. UAVAC continues to be the most viable segment of the anti-war movement in Edmonton. There are a number of activists around the committee, many of whom are now YS contacts as well.



UAVAC's main role on campus has been educational – selling literature regularly and sponsoring events like the Feb. 9 Vietnam debate (see *CVN*) (*Canada-Vietnam News*) which touched off the best debates the campus has ever seen. A few activists went to the SAEWV (*the high schools anti-Vietnam war organization*) conference; an identification with SAEWV has been built among the anti-war activists although the NDY and SDU continue to see SAEWV as nothing more than a Trotskyist front group. For the summer period the campus committee ceases to exist and those few activists in both high school and on campus will work in the city anti-war committee.

**Student Power** – The fees protest was our main experience here. The protest rally of 750 was called by us and a few supporters. This rally forced the Student Council to sponsor a protest march of 3000 – the largest such event in the history of the campus (30% of the student body). This first radical experience for the majority included breaking the rigid Student Council rules (which SDU had supported) by heckling the Minister of Education and swarming into the legislative buildings at the end. SDU, with about 200 supporters, has had incompetent leadership which sways from opportunism to ultra-leftism. This has resulted in a rather bad name for SDU in the eyes of most students.

There were no war recruiters – the End Campus Complicity theme of SAEWV was rather irrelevant, the DOW protests on other campuses were "news" at U. of A(lberta) but no more.

**Finances** – Since 7/8 of our local are students, we are not rich. Our new headquarters – while much better for meetings is also more expensive. Collections at meetings almost pay for our mailings, but we have not had much success at fund-raising events – we usually break even. Suggestions from other locals would be very helpful.

**High Schools** – Students' rights has been a big issue here with several successful protests led by comrades and contacts. The most significant development is Strathcona's underground newspaper, *La Fronde*. We have discovered independent intentions in three other schools to start such a paper. Over the summer plans for a city-wide students' rights paper will be made.

**Internal functioning** – One of our greatest problems has been the delegating of responsibilities evenly among the members of the local. We now have an executive of three which eliminates the necessity to discuss every small detail in the local meetings. At last we have been able to establish a regular day and time of meeting. We are now in a position to go ahead with meetings even if a couple of comrades can't come.

**Miscellaneous** – The most important development in Edmonton over the past year is the periphery we have established which enables us to carry actions such as the demonstration in solidarity with the French workers and students – despite the fact that no other political tendency would participate. From the supporters we have built around us we hope to grow steadily in the coming period.

## TORONTO

There have been two main thrusts of the Toronto local's work over the past year - our open

educational and social activities, particularly our Saturday night program; and our anti-war work on the campuses and in the high schools, with our biggest immediate gains in high school through SAWV.

**Campus** – Our campus work generally was plagued by two main problems — one, the political problem of the relative backwardness of Canadian students compared to students in the other capitalist countries; two, the organizational problem of our very limited forces on campus. Within these given limitations, we made some real accomplishments. Two key things dominated our anti-war work on the campus — our attempts to broaden the anti-war movement, and the campaign around campus complicity in which we played a leading role. The Mar. 3 SAEWV Assembly was the first consolidation along the road of our movement's attempts to build and broaden SAEWV as the cross-Canada student anti-war organization. It was the first really cross-country student anti-war conference; it succeeded in pulling in other student tendencies aside from ourselves and a periphery of independents and it clearly pointed the way for the establishment of SAEWV as the only viable student anti-war-leadership. As well, it set the scene for the mobilization of April 6 and April 26, 27.

On U. of T(oronto) we succeeded in establishing a coalition with some student power types and representatives of other tendencies around the issue of campus complicity, thus broadening the campus anti-war movement beyond the independent CEWV. The take-off point for the development of the coalition and for a whole series of political shifts on U. of T; was the DOW (Chemical Corp.) sit-in. This was the key student power issue on the campus — around the right of students to decide whether war producing companies would be allowed to recruit on their campus. The sit-in did in fact succeed at least initially in driving the DOW recruiters off the campus, and made a tremendous impact on the entire student body. As a result of the association of the Student Administrative Council president, Faulkner, with the campus complicity campaign, the campus right wing succeeded in forcing an election, in which Faulkner was re-elected, clearly over the issue of Vietnam, although he himself attempted to underplay its significance in the campaign. A larger percentage of students participated in that election than in any previous election in U. of T.'s history. That campaign and a series of campus complicity actions set the stage for the election of the former president of the NDY as the new SAC (Students' Council) president at the end of the school year.

Our open work on campus was of necessity minimal, due to our limited forces; it consisted mainly of a couple of big meetings, and circulation of *YSF*. Our biggest impact by far was through the anti-war movement. Over the summer period, like last year, we will be maintaining an inter-campus CEWV, composed of anti-war activists from campuses all over the city. It will attempt to pull and keep together anti-war activists from the different campuses, participate in various projects, like the election campaign, and provide a solid basis for next year's anti-war work on the campuses.

**High Schools** – It was in the high school anti-war arena that the biggest breakthroughs were made this year. In Toronto, on April 6 and April 26, we succeeded for the first time in mobilizing dozens and dozens of high school students who had never before taken part in an anti-war demonstration, or any kind of political activity. SAWVs independent action on the 26th in support of the student strike was a major success, in spite of the limited numbers. The

demonstration followed a campaign by SAWV calling for Vietnam teach-ins in Toronto schools, which collected about 2,000 signatures, gained some press coverage and resulted in a few teach-ins. The result of the year's work was to mobilize high school students in some numbers for the first time around the war in Vietnam, to firmly establish SAWV and considerably broaden its membership; and to introduce many new high school students to the Young Socialists. Many of those who participated in April 6 and April 27 later came down to YSF House to our open functions, and several have joined our movement. And the trend to high school interest in our movement and an increasing high school periphery shows no signs of slowing down.

**Open Activities** – As a result of this development we are making a special attempt to make our movement and its activities especially attractive to these students most of whom have had no previous political experience and very little knowledge of our ideas. Our whole program of activities since the founding of the open movement has been more or less directed in this way. Our Saturday night program has been broadened from the old forum format to include activities like film nights, parties, dramatic presentations, theatre nights, imaginative open houses, etc. – very broad and popular activities, which have drawn new people down to the headquarters every time. We've been able to carry this kind of program partly because we have the Vanguard forum program to rely on. It remains very popular with youth contacts, though not as immediately attractive to those coming around for the first time. Our aim now is to make YSF House an attractive and sociable centre for the new layer of high school contacts we are attracting.

In conjunction with our open activities, we have of course, used *YSF* to introduce our ideas to youth. There have been *YSF* salesmen at every demonstration, every meeting; at theatres, on campuses all over Toronto. During the *YSF* subscription drive we tried a couple of angles we'd never used much before. The majority of our subs, of course, came from hard plugging at contacts. But in addition we put on a drive to get *YSF* in bookstores around the city, and got a good reception, considerably running up our sub total. As well, we got over 30 subs at university residences, just by sending out teams a few times to knock on doors. In one particularly successful outing we netted 13 subs in an hour and a half on one campus.

**Internal** – As a result of this year's work, the Toronto local is now overwhelmingly a student local — student composed and student oriented as we foresaw in our convention discussion last year. Since that convention, we have recruited 21 new comrades. Nine of these were high school students, three were university students, and the reminder were largely from student backgrounds, and oriented to the student milieu. Three fifths of the local members are now assigned **directly** to student work, in the high school or university arenas. All our open activities and anti-war work are in the student arena, or student oriented. One interesting statistic on recruitment — of the 21 comrades who joined in the last year, only five were women.

Internally over the last year, we've made progress in improving the functioning and internal administration of the local. Particularly we are well on our way to building the kind of collective, indigenous leadership that can direct the local's work. This is where we have scored our biggest success, utilizing the talents of comrades with a long experience in the movement, as well as training a whole **new** layer of comrades to take on the direction of the local. One of our major tasks in administration of the local has been financing, and building a consciousness of the

**importance** of financing the local's operation. This becomes more and more important as the movement becomes more student composed — and students are poor! We have given this aspect of our work a big emphasis over the past period and will continue to do so.

**Summer Work** — Our main thrust over the summer period will be to reach out and recruit high school students, through SAWV and our own YS activities. In line with this, we are putting a big emphasis on educational work — this will be a summer of education for the Toronto YS. Since we are bringing into the movement a whole layer of contacts with little knowledge of our traditions, we plan to orient our education to giving these comrades a rounded basic appreciation of the fundamentals of our program. We are planning a joint summer school with the LSA; progressive classes for contacts and newer comrade; and concentrated reading programs for individual comrades, especially student comrades who are too busy all year to learn anything!

## OTTAWA

We would say that this year of the Ottawa local has been the year of the heroic implementation of the decisions of the last convention. In terms of our new policy of recruitment, we've found it to be absolutely correct. Our experiences show that if we recruit according to a basic commitment to the organization, its aims and program, we're bound to lose people, but the flexibility that it gives us allows us to involve, integrate, and educate comrades that we never would have otherwise. We learned rapidly that recruiting at a low level necessitates a collective developed leadership, a greater program of activities, intensive educational work, and much more. A bold and aggressive program, though, avoids creeping sectarianism and cliquishness, which can so easily develop in a small local, and although we have lost four comrades in the very rapid sifting process, the overall healthy development of the local and our new comrades entirely override that.

Our recruits come primarily from open work (sales, open houses, forums) and anti-war work. The fruits of our student power work should become more obvious in the next year.

The tendency in the Ottawa local's open work is toward more and more informal social, free atmosphere types of activity. That is, some form of informative or educational program, intermingled, interspersed or just with something that's a gas to do, e.g., IWW singalong, with a brief presentation on what the IWW was, just plain parties celebrating some important historical event, a film night where everybody brings their own cushion to sit on and we pass the popcorn around (by the way our last film night brought four Cubans including the ambassador down to our headquarters.)

We also carry regular forums every other Saturday night, much as the League branches do, since we don't have the regular Friday night forum in Ottawa which of course plays a very important role in our public activity. The Arlington Avenue Reds, our baseball team, is another method we have devised to make socialism relevant to young people — socialists know where it's at. Our summer program also includes a weekly tape series and summer school (Canadian history, economics, and Marxist logic.)



YS functions have proved to be the place to get subs in a drive. Charging the price of a sub for admission to an event does two things – 1) it drives your sub base way up, and 2) we get subs into the hands of contacts who might not buy one otherwise or with whom we may have had that limited one night contact. It also saves comrade-hours – its less work than knocking on twenty doors for one sub. Special deals like a poster and a sub for a dollar are also extremely effective.

On the finance question. There is no substitute for recruiting working comrades. Having a persistent, diligent and tough treasurer, and a leadership that constantly educates the comrades on the importance of money, are also crucial. However, in a student oriented movement like ours, there are always financial problems. Special lit sales can bring in some extra cash, selling obsolete buttons at a cut rate, and getting contributions of office equipment or homemaking things, are good ways to make and save money. We haven't come up with any astounding ways of raising funds outside of pledges, collections, parties, etc. We hope some other locals do though, because we'd like to be able to afford a full-timer next fall.

### **Anti-war**

The news in anti-war work is that if the movement is going to be built, we are the ones who are going to do it. Last summer, we were entirely isolated from the Ottawa CEWV, a liberal pacifist grouping. We moved into the committee very boldly with comrades whom the old hacks didn't know and we achieved two important mobilizations through that; a very successful October 21, and a very important April 6. We learned that a liberal pacifist committee is good for its money and broad connections. Its exclusionist, bureaucratic, coffee-room character however is so entirely undemocratic that there is virtually no way to change it. In order to involve high-schoolers and other action oriented youth in the anti-war scene, it became increasingly clear that what was necessary was a new youth action committee with the cross-country link-up to SAEWV. We are therefore planning a speak-out in Ottawa for June 22 publicized as a protest against Liberal and Conservative complicity in the war. After the speak-out, a meeting is scheduled, with a film, SAEWV speaker, and a session to discuss the establishment of an organizing body. This may lead to the formation of a SAWV but that is yet to be determined. The main purpose is to involve the youth who are building the demonstrations in their planning and organization and to organize their education,

### **Student Work**

The Carleton Socialist Club and the CEWV established themselves this year as the most active clubs on the campus. The CEWV maintained its reputation this year, by keeping Vietnam before the student body through seminars, a protest against the CIL recruiters, its sales and demos. Its chairman, a comrade, also ran in the student council elections on a radical slate (VOICE). The slate was composed of NDYers, new lefties, and two of our comrades. Our participation in this slate was one of our most important campus ventures to-date. We established early in the campaign that every candidate was free to raise any issue so long as it didn't contradict the basic VOICE program. (We threatened to run independently if they wouldn't allow us to push Vietnam). So while the others on the slate were fooling around with trying to win the election with a "moderate" program, we took the opportunity to propagandize on Vietnam and SAEWV, and explain what the student power movement was all about. Students for a Democratic University died before it actually came to life at Carleton, so our strategy toward the

election campaign had to be clearly propagandistic and educational. There was no movement in the student body, but there was a great deal of curiosity and interest; we took advantage of that. It was our evaluation at this time that attempting to outline a detailed and extensive program for student power in these elections would have been fruitless. Only a small clique on the campus were interested in that. Most of the students wanted to know what it was about – this student power thing. Our comrades made the important class link-ups for the BOG (*university Board of Governors –ed.*) and the war drive. And we received about 16% of the vote. That 16% is a very good indication that students appreciate honest and principled politics just like the working class does, and shows great promise for future YS work in agitation on the campuses.

## MONTREAL

**Recruitment:** Since the last convention, we have recruited eight comrades, one of whom has since left the movement. Of these, most came primarily through the open work of the movement, two through campus work, and one directly through anti-war work. Most of our contacts now are French and here anti-war has played a large role; we also have a couple of good English campus contacts.

**Open Activities:** Forums – generally once a month.

Election campaign at Sir George – Our two comrades there ran on a clear program as Young Socialists when COMFRU (*see below –ed.*) refused to put forward a left slate, forcing COMFRU to change its position. The comrades received almost the same number of votes (i.e., conscious ones) and among the highest number for a left candidate.

Classes – Over the last two months we held a series of weekly classes in French which took the form of a short introduction with prepared questions and extended discussion. They were proposed as intensive educational classes toward recruitment and better contacts were invited. An average of five contacts attended each class.

Parties – Really only one very successful one, and that very recent. Its theme was support to the NDP in the federal election. An NDP candidate was invited and spoke to us formally during the party. There were 50 people there and 22 subs for the League's sub drive were sold.

Demonstration – The LJS called its first demonstration in its own name, in solidarity with the French workers and students. There were between 30 and 35 people and it got good coverage, as did our name.

Sub Drive – It was very successful. Most subs came from the English university campuses. High schools were not really attempted.

Anti-War experience: The campuses were very diverse in this respect. At McGill, an independent committee, not directly under our leadership, maintained itself throughout the year though it lacked in efficient organization and good leadership. Although most of the activists were also involved in Student Power activities, there was a consciousness of the need for an independent committee. There were 15-20 activists continually, although many more took part in

the planning of certain activities, e.g., the demonstration against campus recruiters which was done in coordination with SDU. There were many meetings throughout the year, but business meetings were very irregular.

At Sir George (*now Concordia U. -- Web Ed.*) the situation was very different. Vietnam remained a very important issue on the campus, but the independent committee was unable to get off the ground. From the beginning of the year, the Committee for a Free University (COMFRU) and the Professors' Committee were very active on Vietnam with public meetings every week. At each COMFRU meeting during the first half of the year (once a week), the meeting split into three groupings, each concerned with different activities, and one of these groupings concerned itself with Vietnam. Our comrades (2) were very active in COMFRU as a whole and particularly identified with Vietnam work. The few independents who had come around the independent committee eventually moved around COMFRU.

On both English campuses the attitude toward SAEWV had improved from the previous year but on neither campus were we able to establish the importance of the cross-country movement. Improvement means that there was no longer hostility to SAEWV and there was a certain amount of interest, although this was peripheral to the work of the CEWVs.

We worked also on two college campuses, St. Ignace and Lionel Groulx. At both there was much interest in Vietnam although we were unable to establish committees, largely because of a lack of a real tradition in this respect on these campuses. One was established toward the end of the year at Lionel Groulx (Ste Therese).

We had a meeting there early in the year at which an ex-marine from Vietnam spoke. One hundred and fifty attended (there are: only about 1000 on the campus) and there was much enthusiasm. We also published two issues of a paper there, *Vietnam et Nous*. The concept of single-issuism was very strong there.

At St- Ignace, although we had no comrades throughout most of the year but some very good contacts, we were able to carry numerous meetings and awake much interest, but a committee has yet to be established. The situation however was very good and we gained two comrades and a good number of contacts through our anti-war work there.

**Student Power Experiences:** Student Power organizations emerged on both English campuses. At McGill the Students for a Democratic University (SDU) emerged as the most controversial group and mobilized the largest consistent numbers. It represented a small minority but was still the largest (100-150) group. It arose around a campus issue in confrontation with the administration past school year (although in part it was a continuation of the less effective SDU of the year before which had aided the fight for McGill's entry into UGEQ) and definitely had an effect on the campus, which is now generally very advanced. A vote taken on whether the administration had a right to move in on a students' paper was lost but the vote was very close and the issue not totally clear. The sit-in in the administration building attracted between 200-300 and an outdoor rally on the issue following the entry of police on the campus attracted about 1500. (There were approximately 14,000 students at McGill), SDU had some educational results. It did not try to become too multi-issue, and in this sense was healthy. We did not play much of a role in SDU, largely because of a lack of perspective and know-how on our part. This had definitely bad results for us; we were left somewhat on the sidelines. But it is not an incurable situation.

At Sir George, Comfru mobilized the greatest numbers ever on that campus. However, it was unable to follow up on its gains through education although we played some role in this respect. But it did serve to politicize, at least by activating, the students. Our comrades worked actively in Comfru and played an important role. At Sir George, Comfru was the organization of the left and all politically active students were involved in it. Unlike at McGill, where a strong independent antiwar committee as well as a functioning though small NDY existed in which political students could participate outside of SDU, at Sir George, Comfru was the all-encompassing organization of the left and in this sense tended to be somewhat multi-issue, taking up questions of Vietnam, Black struggle, Cuba, etc., although not in a very organized fashion except for Vietnam.

**French Campuses:** Student power issues arise on the French campuses but have taken a somewhat different form. Here we must take into account the syndicats, which are the local student bodies. They are bureaucratized, but by a left-wing bureaucracy, affiliated to UGEQ, the student syndicalist organization. Generally, the students look to the syndicats for leadership, much more so than the English campuses look to the student councils. Thus student issues must take into account working with and against the local syndicats leadership and UGEQ as a whole.

At St. Ignace, during the later part of the year, a few hundred students (at a campus of approximately 1200) went out on a demonstration and professors called a strike when the administration refused to allow the students to hear a speech on (Marquis) de Sade. At that time a group of about 12 students, with some of our good contacts, issued a manifesto for educational reforms and gained some active support. Since then the administration has offered some reforms but the issue will continue into the next school year as many students do not wish to accept, without protest, reforms handed down from above.

At Lionel Groulx no clear student power issues have arisen although there was an upsurge of hostility against the local bureaucratic syndicat leadership. Although many of the students are political to some degree, a tradition of political activity on both the campus and the broader level has yet to be built there.

**Finances, Fund liaising:** The financial situation is very good. Comrades are really very conscious of financial questions and respond well. Pledges are kept up.

We have done little in the way of fund raising activities. Our broad appeal for money during the fund drive met with little success but our parties are beginning to make a small profit.

**Internal Functioning:** Meetings are very regular, attendance very good and internal going fairly well. We have overcome the problem of the youth not seeming to have a reason for existence. The separate identity of the youth has been established, though there are still some problems as we continue to share the same HQ and French paper with the Party and because of the general lack of adequate forces in Quebec. The youth has been very active especially recently, and all comrades are playing a role. Our meetings are now carried in the French language. Simultaneous translations are available for comrades unable to understand both languages though no comrades require complete translations from the French which predominates. This has not created real problems yet but it is not a perfect system. We are working out methods of improved functioning which will probably include French language classes for the duration of the summer following the convention, possible separate English campus fraction meetings and possibly separate English educationals every third of which could combine an educational with a French language class. *(document ends)*



YS/LJS  
DISCUSSION  
BULLETIN



CONTENTS:

VOL 4

JUNE

NO 5

1968

- (A) *(On the)* POLITICAL RESOLUTION - submitted for adoption by Bev. G., Brian S.,  
Jean R., and Sharon H.  
(B) On The ORGANIZATIONAL QUESTION - Bev G.

15¢

(A)

Political Resolution June 1968

(1)

- I. The objective of the YS is to deepen the militancy and understanding of the student movement, rather than hold radical students at the present level of political consciousness of the working class. Already, a whole layer of Canadian students have generalized from their opposition to the structure of the university and their opposition to the brutal war in Vietnam to reject the capitalist system as a whole. Although a layer of these students do not yet see any real alternative to capitalism and are attracted to hippie or anarchist trends, thousands of students do see the alternative in a general way, and, in the context of the existence of the NDP, consider themselves socialists.
- II. Open Work: Our objective is to win these students to the YS as quickly as possible. This requires a concentration on developing our open work in terms of all forms of educational work (forums, classes, and particularly publications). It also means that the YS should build actions in its own name, in defense of the colonial revolution as well as in solidarity with socialist students around the world and with the labor movement at home. The establishment of campus YS clubs as open-membership clubs is essential both to bring the most radical students toward our movement, and also to involve adequate forces to carry the necessary socialist education and action on campus. Open YS clubs, which students can join simply by paying a nominal membership fee, would provide a vehicle for testing the level of student consciousness. The organizational character of revolutionary youth movement is up for debate in our movement internationally in relation to the structure of the JCR? and closer to home, the approach of the YSA to the YSHB. These clubs and the response they receive across Canada, would indicate the possibilities for a broader revolutionary youth movement here in Canada.
- III. YS, NDY, and other tendencies: The virtual disappearance of the youth movements of our political opponents, plus the drastic decline of the NDY, whose Western sections have now dissolved into the student power movement, means that we must begin to act like the socialist youth movement in Canada. Our main objective, as a small revolutionary youth movement, is still to politicize the most advanced layers of students and win them to revolutionary socialism. At the same time, we are the only youth movement which can provide the program and leadership for the student power movement, which can win youth to the NDP and the labor movement (through the SDU and broader youth formations) and which can provide the bi-national cohesiveness which, as the CEC points out, is lacking in the Canadian student movement. To wish for a rebirth of the NDY is to ignore the reasons for its demise and to cloud the responsibilities and opportunities which the YS faces as the youth movement that supports the NDP. Only the YS will build and lead the student power movement. No other youth organization will mobilize students against the war, or link their struggles to the NDP and the labor movement. Only the YS can involve the thousands of students who already consider themselves socialists and give them a revolutionary working class perspective. We must take up this challenge.
- IV. The Basis of Student Radicalism: The radicalization of students and their response to international issues results from the position of students in the university and of the university in society. It is the concrete situation of students which makes the "weakest link in the neo-capitalist chain" (Mandel).
- V. Development of Student Radicalism --Issues: The war in Vietnam is the central issue around which the most conscious students are educated and brought toward socialist politics. However, the fact that the war
- (continued on Page 2)

in Vietnam is not an immediate issue for Canadian students, combined with an application of Mandel's analysis to Canada (see Brian's document), means that the issues which will mobilize the masses of students are those which involve the position of the student in the university, and of the university in society.

VI. Student Power Movement: The student power movement has already mobilized tens of thousands of students across Canada, and those students have shown a willingness to accept the leadership of socialists and to generalize their opposition to the university structure toward an opposition to capitalism.

VII. The Role of YS in the Student Power Movement: If the student power movement is to develop into a cohesive movement and develop the consciousness of students in a socialist direction, the YS must take the initiative and leadership in developing the most effective organizational forms and programmatic demands for the movement.

VIII. Organizational Forms: We must push for the establishment of student power organizations where they do not exist, to enable students involved in action to go through the educational experience of planning and assessing those actions. In general, the SDU membership committee form permits the greatest participation by politically non-committed students, but on some campuses, the movement may go through united front formations before SDU's can be successfully established. Our objective of establishing the YS as the leadership of the student power movement, as socialist youth organizations are in Europe, cannot only be realized on the basis of a student consciousness developed through mass struggles against the structure of the university, or organized democratically through SDU-type formations.

IX. While YS does not oppose any student struggle for reform, we put forward a program aimed at maintaining the independence of the student movement, preventing cooptation and raising the political level of students generally. This means a program of student control and autonomy of the university, rather than student participation in existing university structures and restructuring of the Board of Governors. We consistently expose BOG as the means for big business control of the university, link the student struggle to broader social questions (Vietnam, anti-labor legislation, etc.) and expose the role of the bourgeois state (provincial government) in relation to the university. It is impossible for us to function effectively as the leadership of the student power movement unless we adopt such a program of transitional demands.

X. Anti-War Movement: Those students who have been mobilized around "Withdraw U.S. Troops" and "End Canadian Complicity" have gone through a significant radicalization in the recent past. The response to the NLF committees in Vancouver and Toronto indicates that explicitly anti-imperialist demands will not alienate the student base of the anti-war movement. The experience in France demonstrated that the way to reach the trade union movement is not to hold back student militancy. In fact, the independence of the student movements from the reformism of the trade union leadership in France was one of the crucial factors enabling it to cut through the reformist bureaucrats and strike a response among the rank-and-file. Our slogans on Vietnam must be based on the consciousness of the students we are trying to mobilize, on the principled basis that "Withdrawal of U.S. Troops" and "End Canadian Complicity" represent the minimum acceptable program for us.

From the differences that we all recognize between the situation of Canadian and U.S. students vis a vis the war, we must draw the

(continued on Page 3)



conclusion that Canadian students who act against the war are generally on a higher political level. The YS can meet with a tremendous response by intervening with "the only valid slogan - the slogan of full and complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people" (Mandel). Open-membership campus YS clubs acting on this program can involve as many student issues as single-issue committees have done, and, in many areas, more. Canada-wide student mobilizations called by the YS centered on this program would meet with a better response from student radicals than SAEWV can as a YS-dominated organization with no flesh and blood outside Ontario.

Of course, we would not attempt to impose this program on the anti-war movement as a whole. We would not pose our slogans for adoption by the broad coordinating committees which organize mobilizations around IDP's, etc. Within the youth area, when we call independent youth or student mobilizations, we would work to establish united fronts, and to win the united fronts to our program. If our program were not adopted by the united front, we would carry our demands under our own name, but continue to support the united front and to work for it (similar to the approach we took with the slogans of withdrawal and complicity, through the membership committees, before the anti-war movement as a whole accepted them).

Successful united fronts could be organized by taking the initiative as the YS, around our program (the program of our movement around the world and in the U.S.) of support for the Vietnamese revolution. The mobilization of significant numbers of youth behind our demands would strengthen our hand in attempts to involve the NDP and trade union movement in the anti-war movement without compromising the demand for immediate withdrawal.

XI. YS as a Canada-Wide Movement: Our effectiveness in YS campaigns against the war, in support of the NDP, and in the student power movement (in fact, the development of the YS as a cohesive bi-national organization. Our internal circulation of information between locals, the number of national tours and the time spent with each local, should be increased. Written discussion within the EC should be encouraged to overcome regional disunity within the leadership across Canada, and to enable the EC to function as the highest body of the movement between conventions. Leading comrades should be moved in and out of the CO as much as possible. When possible, our conventions should be held once a year, rather than every two years.

Submitted by

Bev G., Brian S., Jean R., & Sharon H.

Note: This is intended as a brief statement of the position which we are submitting for adoption by the convention, to clarify the disagreements which exist. It relies for motivation on the earlier submission by Jean, Brian's document on campus, and Bev's on organization. We felt that the differences were too general to be presented as an amendment to the CEC's political resolution, which we feel is inadequate in the following respects:

1. It underestimates the present level of student consciousness and the potential which that represents, and misrepresents the relationship between student issues and international questions in the development of student radicalism.

2. It presents a passive, wait-and-see attitude as the YS approach

(continued on Page 4)

to the student power movement.

3. Its misjudgement of student consciousness and the radicalization within the anti-war movement, leads it to a position of defending the program now adopted by the anti-war movement, the NDP, and significant sections of the trade union movement (our minimum program), against the more clearly anti-imperialist demands which are attracting radicalizing students.

4. Its expectation of a rebirth of the NDY leads to a refusal to recognize the responsibilities and opportunities of the YS as the socialist youth movement in Canada.

5. Its adoption of the YS proposal for open-membership YS clubs on campus is almost meaningless in terms of the general CEC perspective that such clubs should take no initiative in the anti-war movement, and that our role in relation to the student power movement is that of a propaganda circle using the SDU organizations as forums.

Successful united fronts could be organized by taking the initiative as the YS, around our program (the program of our movement around the world and in the U.S.) of support for the Vietnamese revolution. The mobilization of significant numbers of youth behind our demands would strengthen our hand in attempts to involve the NDP and the anti-war movement in the anti-war movement without compromising the demand for immediate withdrawal.

XI. YS as a Canada-Wide Movement. Our effectiveness in YS campaigns against the war, in support of the NDP, and in the student power movement (in fact, the development of the YS as a cohesive bi-national organization. Our internal division of labour between the YS and the NDP is the number of national tours and the time spent with each local should be increased. Written discussion within the YS should be encouraged to overcome regional differences within the leadership across Canada, and to enable the YS to function as the highest body of the movement between conventions. Leading committees should be moved in and out of the YS as much as possible. When possible, our conventions should be held once a year, rather than every two years.

Submitted by

Rev G. Brian S., Jean R. & Sharon R.

Note: This is intended as a brief statement of the position which we are submitting for adoption by the convention, to clarify the agreements which exist. It calls for motivation on the earlier submission by Jean, Brian's document on campus, and Brian's on organization. We felt that the differences were too general to be presented as an amendment to the CEC's political resolution, which we feel is inadequate in the following respects:

1. It understates the present level of student consciousness and the potential which that represents, and misrepresents the relationship between student issues and international questions in the development of student radicalism.

2. It presents a passive, wait-and-see attitude as the YS approach.

(continued on page 5)



(B)

(5)

The need for a cross-Canada leadership is recognized by the entire movement. It is time the YS/LJS seriously examined the organizational problems involved in such a task. The whole question of whether or not revolutionary youth movements should be democratic centralist organizations is up for debate. (The JCR which so successfully played a leading role in the French revolution is not a Leninist organization). However for this period in Canada democratic centralism remains the most effective form of organization for our movement. As Cannon emphasizes democratic centralism is not a dogma or a formula but a flexible concept which allows the relationship between democracy and centralism to be constantly changing depending upon the position of our movement with respect to the state and in the case of the YS/LJS the mass of students and youth.

In the coming period we must put the emphasis on the democratic side of democratic centralism. First of all we are operating in a period of legality when the demands of security are least pressing -- even less so than in our NDY days. Secondly the youth and student movement as a whole are in a state of growth and change, as is our own movement, in both size and influence. Thirdly our task is the development of a cross-Canada leadership that does not now exist. The building of a cohesive leadership in a country so large and diverse requires flexibility in training and testing our leadership across the country. Fourthly our movement in Canada is new, added to the fact that we are a youth movement this means that both leadership and rank and file are inexperienced. This, double dose of youth and inexperience means that the YS/LJS must maximize the experience of our comrades throughout the country, especially through the E.C., the leading body of our movement between conventions.

The leading bodies of the movement must first function before they can be effective. The EC during the past period has been nearly inoperative. Because of the size of Canada frequent verbal communication between EC members are impossible. However we must realize that the CEC cannot possibly be thoroughly aware of all the situations throughout the country. The ECers are responsible to the movement as a whole and should keep on top of developments throughout the country. It is also helpful to each local to know what is happening in other locals. The EC must not simply be seen as a robot woodenly carrying out CEC decisions that effect their particular area. Discussions within the CEC should be encouraged not cut off as was the attempt of the Vancouver comrades to have a discussion on Student power. It is essential that the central leadership not become what Cannon calls an "office leadership" (see Struggle for a Proletarian Party p. 54 55). Our movement grows through contact and leadership in the struggles of students and radicalizing youth.

the  
Of course building of a strong CEC which reflects our movement across the country is necessary to build a strong well co-ordinated movement. The movement must have a policy of moving of co-opting leading comrades across the country to the CEC. The present CEC consists largely of the indigenous Ontario leadership with little experience outside Ontario. The NEC in the United States youth movement is selected on political grounds and members come from all over the country. When comrades like Fraser are co-opted to the Centre their main responsibility must be to the movement as a whole rather than to the Toronto Local.

On the other hand the CEC must be prepared to transfer leading Toronto comrades to other locals. The student movement itself is very erratic and we must be prepared to transfer our forces where they are needed. The CEC has stated that our task in this period is to concentrate on building a strong indigenous leadership in each of the locals. However in this era of internationalism our movement must not be preoccupied with the building of indigenous leaderships in specific areas of Canada. However the strength of the leadership in the locals is revealed by the voting patterns for the convention. Where the leadership was solidly for the convention (Vancouver and Edmonton) the local was also unanimous. In Montreal where the leadership was divided the whole local was also divided. In Toronto where the leadership opposed the convention the membership also rejected the idea of having a convention. Our task is clearly to build a cross-Canada leadership familiar with the problems in all areas of our movement.

In order to build this leadership it is essential to have maximum participation of the EC in decisions that effect the whole movement. One important area of concern is the changing of personnel, especially when they effect leading comrades. The CEC did not feel it necessary to consult ECers outside Toronto in establishing an "integrated plan" of personnel shifts affecting all the locals of our movement. Also the question of additions to the staff of our movement concerns the resources of the movement as a whole and, the ECers should at the least be consulted before such a change is made. A cross-country tour allowing a couple of comrades to learn of the political situation across the country may have been more valuable at this time than the doubling of our staff. Above all the CEC must be willing to listen and learn from other comrades. No one expects the CEC to be infallible or omniscient; the leadership as well as the rank and file of our movement are in the YS/LJS because of their revolutionary ideas not for any other personal qualities. CECers must not pose the political questions of our movement in terms of "votes of confidence" which have no place in the traditions of bolshevism.

The convention is the highest body of our movement, and because of the shortness of time it is mandatory that political questions be our main concern. It is incorrect of the CEC to emphasize the irregularity of this or any other of our conventions because it detracts from the political questions at issue. The decisions of our convention determine the line of our movement across the country. As our movement and the radical movement as a whole continue to grow it will become increasingly necessary to reassess our line more frequently; conventions once a year may become a necessity.

The key concept in determining the organization of the YS/LJS during the next period must be flexibility. Something well within the confines of democratic centralism and a united movement across the country.

YS/LJS  
DISCUSSION  
BULLETIN

VOL. 4 JUNE  
NO. 6 1968

CONTENTS:

ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE YS/LJS by Brenda A.

A contribution to the discussion on our student work, by Wendy M.

10¢



ON THE ORGANIZATIONAL CHARACTER OF THE YS-LJS (1968)  
by Brenda A.

The document by Bev G. On the Organizational Question shows a lack of understanding of how our movement operates, what democratic centralism is, and how the various bodies of the movement function. (For a full elaboration of these questions comrades should read the statement by Gary P. submitted to the 1967 convention, and the 1968 LSA-LSO Organizational Resolution.)

First of all our organizational means (which are directly tied to our political goals) are flexible. Democratic Centralism is composed of two dialectically interrelated concepts: democracy and centralism. Democracy plus centralism don't add up to democratic centralism like a formal equation. Democracy plus centralism in our movement forms a qualitatively different organizational form. Decisions on policy and program are made by the whole movement at conventions. In the event of more than one line or position presented, the movement as a whole, after debating all the positions openly, decides on the policy it thinks best. All comrades of our movement are bound in united action to implement that policy in our external activities. Minorities have rights to circulate their opinions and discuss their ideas internally during regulated discussion periods, and may have representation on the leading bodies of the movement.

Bev wants to emphasize the "democratic side" of democratic centralism. How much more democracy can we have without sacrificing our centralist character? I think the YS-LJS leans very heavily to the "democratic side."

In this period, we are able to operate openly. We are not violently harrassed by the state. We print and circulate our magazine. We are able to carry free discussion within our movement. We have loads of "democracy" in our movement--you only have to look at this convention to see that--and that is the best situation for the operation and growth of the movement. In another period however, we might have no opportunity to operate this way. The leading body, the CEC, would have to act as the sole directing force and we would have to be totally united in action, following completely the leadership of the CEC.

Our organizational norms, then, vary with objective conditions.

The convention, as everyone knows, is the highest body of the movement. At the convention we decide on the policies and program of the movement. As well, we elect a leadership which has the confidence and respect of the convention to implement the decisions and direct the movement in the best way possible. This leadership, the EC, operating at plenums, is the highest body

between conventions. The CEC, based in the center, is the leading body in the day to day work. It is the highest body of our movement between plenums of the EC. The EC exists as a collectivity, not as isolated individuals and groups. It does not function as a body, except at plenums, where it can review the actions of the CEC. The individual ECers' main responsibility is to implement convention decisions in the locals and to provide leadership in their areas.

We reject the concept of a kind of "federated" movement where groups of ECers act as little CECs in their areas. The CEC provides the political leadership for the movement as a whole, and is responsible to the EC at a plenum.

For Bev to say that the EC has been "nearly inoperative" over the past period shows a misunderstanding of what the EC is and how it functions. The EC, as a body, is not supposed to function in the day-to-day work of the movement. This is the task of the CEC in the center. The EC, as a collective team, operates at plenums between conventions.



(2)

The convention decides which comrades would make the best collective leadership team--the EC. For Bev to talk about "indigenous Ontario leadership" is crap. If the best leading comrades we had in the movement came from Moose Factory, we would choose them for a leading team. Because, comrades, we decide, at the plenums of the EC, who will be in the center. Of course we want the leadership to move around and have experience in various areas. However, it so happens at this time that the staff in the Central Office is  $\frac{1}{2}$  from Ottawa and  $\frac{1}{2}$  from Vancouver. Another CECer is from Newfoundland! The Vancouver comrades have nothing to complain about.

Do we have confidence in our leadership? Presumably we elected a leadership in which we have confidence. And if that is lacking, we'd better re-evaluate it and make some changes.

The question of whether to have a convention or not was precisely a vote of confidence in the leadership, nothing less. The leading body, the EC voted to have a plenum. If we regard the EC decisions off-handedly and flippantly, why do we bother electing a body we hope will develop into a collective team?

The leaders of our movement, who form a collective whole are not prima donnas, bureaucrats, or self-styled heroes. They have been brought up from the ranks, through experience and training, to become politically developed, capable, solid people who can lead the movement. They can then develop further as leaders in the movement or move into League work.

The most important task ahead for our movement, and encompassing all our work is the building of a strong cross-country collective leadership. This leadership operates not as individuals, but collectively: the EC at plenums; the CEC as a team directing the day-to-day work of the movement. The abilities, experiences, knowledge and talents of our leading comrades taken together, working as a team, is the key to the strength and effectiveness of our movement as a whole.

June 25, 1968  
OTTAWA

The recent CEC document concludes with the statement that its line is essentially that adopted at the last convention. That this is not really true is suggested by the CEC's proposal for the open campus YS clubs. Nevertheless, the extent to which the statement is accurate is precisely an indication of the failure of the document to develop an overall perspective of the present level of the student movement and the direction in which it is headed. In particular, the CEC's attitude towards the student power movement is weak, a weakness which probably reflects the fact that the student power movement has developed up to the present more rapidly in British Columbia and in Quebec than in Ontario. In fact, the whole document, with its emphasis on SAEWV and the anti-war movement at the expense of a realistic consideration of the student power movement seems to be based on the experiences of the Ontario campus comrades.

The document On Campus Work (Blaine, Forter, & Ken H) attempts to predict the direction of the student movement in the near future, based on concrete experiences, but the basis of its predictions is Simon Fraser University, which is not necessarily the only signpost of the future, and certainly not for all areas of the country. No doubt it is true that universities like Nanterre, like SFU, and like Sir George Williams in Montreal are presently more explosive in terms of university-oriented issues than are such schools as the University of Toronto, and no doubt too, they are indicative of the trend in the situation of the universities. But the conduciveness of the objective factors on these campuses to student explosion over campus issues need not mean de facto that Vietnam has been replaced as prime radicalizer of students by questions pertaining to the university. If the CEC has failed to develop a line on the student power movement, other than the vague suggestion that we should be flexible, the SFU document has over-compensated in the other direction.

Vancouver's situation would appear to be the most radical in the country, in terms of student consciousness, but we cannot afford to generalize crudely from the SFU experiences. To say that at SFU it is clear to all that the NDP is our only reliable political ally is relatively meaningless in the face of vast numbers of student radicals across Canada, but most of all in Quebec, who reject the NDP from the "left". Moreover, the principles behind the section (in the SFU document) on student power and the anti-war movement and the one on student power and the NDP are in contradiction. The separation of anti-war struggles from student power struggles, and the implication that there are "anti-war activists" on the one hand, and "student power activists" on the other, makes it difficult to understand Blain et al's faith in the probability of the student power activists' orienting themselves toward the NDP. It is far more difficult for most student radicals - in Eastern Canada - to understand the need to support a rotten social-democratic party that it is to get them active in the anti-war movement. The SFU document's discussion of the NDP reflects the relative strength of the labour movement in Vancouver and of the NDP, but it does not apply with much accuracy to some other provinces.

Given that the CEC has underestimated the level of the student movement in both Quebec and Vancouver, which are the only major non-Ontario locals, its description cannot be accepted. The situation on the English campuses is similar to that in B.C. with regard to student activism. Of course the objective situations differ, and too, the extent of student radicalization in Quebec does not really equal that of SFU. But I do not believe that regional differences are the basis of my rejection of Frazer's statement that "...as campus radicalization develops, more and more students will come to revolutionary politics through exclusively campus activity.", or that students who participate in anti-war demonstrations are already radical on other issues (campus issues). It has been our experience that many students do participate in student power struggles before becoming active in the anti-war movement, but that those whose first political experience is on campus issues do not usually become radicals until or unless they get involved in the anti-war movement. This is precisely because the student power groups (everywhere, so far) lack a coherent global analysis and a programme, because they are issue-oriented, and because of the dichotomy between a politically developed leadership clique and a large uneducated rank and file.

(4)

On the other hand, it would be disastrous to underestimate the importance of the student power groups vis à vis the anti-war movement. The existence of a large left group - the student power group - broadens the scope of the anti-war movement, increasing the base of its support. At Sir George Williams this year, virtually all consistent student power activists were also anti-war activists, and although a token independent CENV was maintained, the real anti-war work area was in the Committee for a Free University. At McGill, where the two groups were independent, the over-lap in membership was nearly total. It would seem that precisely the interplay of campus-oriented actions, which at this stage don't necessarily radicalize per se, and of the war jointly radicalized far more students than either issue could do alone.

## CONCLUSIONS

The student movement is significantly more developed in two major centres than the CEC had believed, and the other major campus areas will likely follow suit. There exists in the two advanced regions something more than the elementary feeling of solidarity among students attributed by the CEC to the student movement as a whole. In Quebec, where UGEQ has in some ways hindered the development of a strong political student movement<sup>1</sup>, its presence has nevertheless aided the development of inter-campus solidarity. The two major English campuses have actively supported one another's struggles - sympathy actions have been carried. One example of inter-campus solidarity across the country - albeit, on a low level - was the printing of two articles (The Student as Nigger, and the obscene LBJ article) in campus papers across the country after a few editors were censured for printing them.

It would be a mistake to maintain the anti-war movement on the minimal basis implied in Frazer's document. On some campuses, the independent committees are still strong and useful - in general, this is a function of the strength or weakness of the student power movement. Carrying anti-war work through the student power organizations is fine as long as it is consistent. The tendency in this kind of formation is to mobilize large numbers for anti-war actions, while the week-to-week educational Vietnam work is allowed to ride. That was our experience at Sir George Williams. Coalitions formed from action to action negate the possibility of educational work on a long term, and are thus not viable. If there is no potential for building SAEWV in B.C., this is doubly true in Quebec, where all students look to UGEQ as the unifier of inter-campus anti-war opposition, and organizer of all major student demonstrations.<sup>2</sup>

As for open YS clubs, the whole idea is absurd. The CEC document says somewhat carefully that we are to consider the clubs as part of our movement, but consider their members merely as contacts. Two of the documents maintain that our comrades will maintain our line by acting as a fraction within the YS clubs, whereas the SFU document suggests that they will not necessarily be the vehicles for our line on everything. The latter position is far more realistic as assessment of what would develop if we were to open the YS clubs, but it is hardly a desirable prospect. We have already tried in previous years to establish Young Socialist Alliances, operating as a fraction, and have lost the power to implement our line within them. This position - favouring open YS clubs is consonant with the belief that the majority of students who become radicalized will henceforth do so on the basis of campus struggles and campus issues. Given the difficulty we have always experienced - if Quebec is a reliable indication - in drawing students off the campus and away from exclusively campus-oriented radicalism, I can only see the opening of the YS clubs as an obstacle to ultimate recruitment to the off-campus Trotskyist movement, a policy which it would be folly to implement.

. . . . .

1 & 2 See the Quebec Document



YS / LJS  
DISCUSSION  
BULLETIN

VOL. 4 JUNE

CONTENTS: NO. 8a 1968

- |      |  |                               |
|------|--|-------------------------------|
| (1)  | 1. League/Youth Relations Resolution (1967)              | (1p.)                         |
| (11) | 2. Anti-war contribution -- Carol O.                     | (3pp)                         |
| (2)  | 3. High School contribution -- Sue Claus & Abie Weisfeld | (3pp)                         |
|      | 4. 1967 High School Document                             | (duplicate of 1966 doc) (5pp) |

154



Youth Resolution Presented to the 1963 Convention,  
subsequently adopted by the youth in 1965

The youth --an organization of revolutionary socialist youth in basic agreement with the program and policies that the League represents and advocates in the ranks of the adult Canadian working class--is recognized by it as a fully autonomous organization.

The youth determines its own policies and activities, elects its own leadership, under the guiding principles of democratic centralism.

The League's relation is of the closest fraternal character--placing what facilities it possesses at the youth's disposal, giving it the benefit of its experiences, collaborating with it in the day to day work of advancing the cause of the working class.

The League governs itself by the principles of democratic centralism. Members of the League are committed to expound and to implement its views and decisions in whatever organization they participate, including the youth movement.

In the process of our work it is possible, even probable, that misunderstandings and differences will arise that will involve the conduct of comrades who have membership in both organizations.

Contradictions between decisions taken in the League and youth can be resolved through discussion and common agreement. There is no formula of an organizational character that can meet this problem. Any proposition to liquidate the democratic centralist character of the youth has no support in the League for it would transform the former into a centrist current and render it incapable of developing as a serious force for revolutionary socialism and for the leadership of the advanced elements of the Canadian youth.

Where the youth might make decisions that are thought to violate positions held by the League the normal procedure would be to delay action until such time as the problem can be worked out to the satisfaction of both. League members in the youth do not have special privileges but on the contrary must demonstrate heightened responsibility.

The interpenetration of the two organizations should be seen primarily as a factor that will serve to overcome conflicts. Conflicts can be further counteracted by: 1. representation of leading youth comrades on executive bodies of the League, 2. by the understanding that the youth, in so far as they may be less experienced, have to learn from their own experiences, that learning is not only ideological but in actual experience in life itself, 3. by a sense of proportion of the relative importance of the questions at dispute, 4. by a proper sensitivity on the part of the League to the autonomous character of the youth movement.

## THE ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT--A CONTRIBUTION TO THE DISCUSSION

"We enter the anti-war movement as revolutionary socialists. We support the Vietnamese revolution unconditionally, and we support the heroic struggle of the NLF against imperialism in spite of criticisms we may have of its program and organization."

"We do not ask the anti-war movement to adopt this position. Indeed we would be opposed to it doing so, at least in English Canada at this juncture. Although some sections of the present movement might well accept our program, we must always pose the necessity of expanding the movement to reach new layers."

(1967 Anti-War Resolution Adopted - Page 3)

The above quotation from last year's anti-war resolution maintains its validity for the movement today. Unless someone can successfully argue that "the necessity of expanding the movement to new layers" no longer exists, then we have to assume that the slogans adopted by the last convention are as valid today as they were a year ago. These slogans were "End Canadian Complicity" and "Withdraw U.S. Troops" for the English Canadian movement, and "Vietnam aux Vietnamiens, le Quebec aux quebecois" for the Quebec movement.

The Canadian anti-war movement is not yet a mass movement. When the masses of students, the trade union movement, and the NDP become actively involved in the movement we can begin to talk about a mass movement. Until then our task is to push, prod, and pull them into the movement.

That is the gist of last year's anti-war resolution. If you agree with it, then you have to support the whole document. If you don't, then you have to take the entire document to task and show where it makes its fundamental error. It is incorrect to say that slogans are wrong outside the general context in which the slogans are posed. It is impossible to say that we should stop building SAEWV without first explaining that a country-wide student anti-war movement has no important role to play in the building of a mass Canadian anti-war movement.

If any comrades want to say that building a mass Canadian anti-war movement \* is no longer necessary, then they should say it and stop beating around the bush. If they don't, then they've got to show that dropping SAEWV, the independent committees, and changing our slogans to "Defend the Colonial Revolution" and "Solidarity with Vietnam" will aid in the building of that mass anti-war movement.

In the political resolution submitted by Bev G., Brian S., Jean R., and Sharon H., there are some confusions. Here we will deal only with the anti-war section. In the first place it would be much appreciated if the comrades would stop operating on the assumption that the recent events in France are an indication that Canada is in a prerevolutionary situation. It only confuses the issue. A YS convention should not be forced to preoccupy itself with thoroughly analyzing the objective situations in France and in Canada, and then picking out places where they are similar. Trying to build our movement in Canada on the basis of a political analysis of the situation in France is like trying to find your way around Vancouver with a map of Ottawa--you're bound to get lost. Back to "the confusions".

"The experience in France demonstrated that the way to reach the trade union movement is not to hold back <sup>student</sup> militancy." Presumably the only factor that brought about a general strike of the French workers was student militancy. The French students are carrying a most heroic struggle in France. Their vanguard has reacted to a pre-revolutionary situation with the courage and consciousness of a real vanguard. They took the program of revolutionary socialism to the class, and with their limited forces vied for leadership in the struggle. That's excellent. But we're talking here about the Canadian anti-war movement. Our task is to reach the

\* ...movement in defense of the Vietnamese revolution is...(inadvertently omitted)



Canadian working class and enlist them in the anti-war movement. Or is it? A look at the logic of the proposal for the switch in demands suggests that it isn't.

Throughout this section of the resolution, one gets the feeling that the slogans "End Canadian Complicity" and "Withdraw U.S. Troops", now, for some reason, do not express full solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution. These slogans were OK for a while, but it's time to change our slogans and really come out in support of the Vietnamese and against imperialism. One gets the feeling that the comrades feel that we haven't been doing this. They say we must "intervene with the only valid slogan - the slogan of full and complete solidarity with the Vietnamese people." (Mandel). Presumably the slogans are the ones that the Vancouver comrades have been carrying on demonstrations to "counter the sectarian and ambiguous slogans of the Maoists"--'Defend the Colonial Revolution' and 'Solidarity with Vietnam'.

They say in their resolution "of course we would not attempt to impose this program on the anti-war movement as a whole". Why not? Don't we want the anti-war movement as a whole to express complete and full solidarity with the Vietnamese? Do revolutionary socialists reserve this right for themselves? Or might it be that these slogans are a bit too "sectarian and ambiguous" to appeal to the masses as a whole. The comrades have said "we would not pose our slogans for adoption by the broad co-ordinating committees". What would we pose for adoption to the broad co-ordinating committees? Something like our old 'minimum' slogans? Or would we not pose anything? Don't revolutionary socialists have the responsibility of leading the mass movement in program and action? Or don't we pose that anymore?

The comrades have said that we would push these slogans in the youth arena. If the slogans were not adopted in the youth committees, YS'ers would carry them anyway. What would we do if they were adopted in the youth arena? If the students are the vanguard here, it is their responsibility to carry the correct slogans to the working class. And if these slogans were not acceptable to the working class? Would the youth arena go off under its shining banner of full solidarity with the Vietnamese and simon pure radicalism? Or would it carry a futile struggle to convince the Canadian working class that it should rally to the radical slogans of "Defend the Colonial Revolution" and "Solidarity with Vietnam"?

We're trying to build the Canadian anti-war movement; our slogans must be acceptable to the masses.

Our slogans and program must at all times express full solidarity with the struggles of the heroic Vietnamese. But what does this mean? In the context of a system dependent upon war, any struggle to end war digs a knife into that system's guts. Imperialism could not survive without war--when its right to wage war is challenged, its right to function is challenged. That is why any anti-war movement in this period is anti-imperialist. Whether it is stated or not has no bearing on the nature of the movement. Our most profound solidarity with the Vietnamese lies in the building of a mass international movement which joins their struggle against the aggressor. There is nothing more "radical" than this. In different countries, the struggle will take on different forms and carry different slogans, according to the degree of understanding of the masses.

A mass movement that carries the slogan "Bring the GI's Home Now" in the United States, has the power to defeat imperialism in Vietnam. The movement doesn't have to say "explicitly" 'we express full solidarity with the Vietnamese revolution' in order to accomplish its tremendous historical task. A demand to defend the Vietnamese revolution would appeal neither to the GI's nor the working class, the only two powers that can halt American imperialism. It doesn't matter one iota how many students mistakenly think that this slogan is "minimal"

or liberal. Our task is not to develop the most "radical" slogans, but it is to determine the correct slogans in the context of an objectively anti-imperialist movement that are going to rally the power of the working class and accept those slogans as our slogans.

#### FOR A CANADIAN ANTI-WAR MOVEMENT

It has been repeatedly stated that the Vietnam war is not relevant to Canadian workers and students. We know that it is relevant because imperialism is a world system, not simply a half a million GI's in Vietnam. But students and workers in general would not understand or accept a slogan like "Defeat World Imperialism". We'd be wrong to pose it. The other point is that students and workers, particularly workers, are not going to get angry enough to demonstrate unless they feel they have something at stake. To meet this need we have developed a slogan which has, after much struggle, won acceptance in the Canadian movement. It is "End Canadian Complicity" in the Vietnam War. It does a good job of exposing the fact that the Canadian capitalist government is not neutral in the conflict. If anyone wants to discuss that it is no longer important to shatter this illusion, then let's hear it. There is nothing more "radical" than a mass movement in Canada that struggles to prevent the Canadian capitalist class from supporting an imperialist war in Vietnam.

The greatest contribution any revolutionary can make to the Vietnamese is to make the revolution in his own country. In Canada, where this is not immediately possible (the recent French experience notwithstanding), our greatest contribution is the building of a massive anti-war movement that attacks the Canadian capitalist class. That's the kind of solidarity the Vietnamese people want. And such a movement can become a reality. Some comrades think it already exists!

It is a fact that most Canadian students do not see the war in Vietnam as being immediately relevant to their lives. For this reason Canadian students don't flock as quickly in to the anti-war movement as Vietnamese or American students do. If we can succeed in bringing the war in Vietnam closer to home, we will obviously be in a better position to build the anti-war movement. This last year on the campuses showed **this fact all too clearly**, and indicated the inspiring possibilities that lay ahead. Campus complicity in the war is a known fact. That the war in Vietnam propagated by the American ruling class actually intrudes upon the sacred <sup>ground</sup> of the Canadian bourgeois university, leads many students to realize the necessity of action. America's war in Vietnam has finally slapped them in the face. If students don't come enmasse to the movement when they've been slapped in the face, they're not going to flood in because someone tells them a big guy down the street is pushing around a little guy.

Now that we've finally found something that makes the war in Vietnam relevant to Canadian students, let's not let it go. Let's get all the political capital we can out of it.

Slogans are meaningless without a movement behind them to back them up. A movement with slogans that don't go anywhere isn't much of a movement. The slogans "Defend the Colonial Revolution" and "Solidarity with Vietnam" have no guts. They don't lead to anything. For one thing they don't attack Canadian capitalism. How do these slogans make the war in Vietnam relevant to Canadian students? What better defense of the colonial revolution is there than an attack on our own imperialist ruling class and that of the U.S.? By carrying the slogans "End Canadian Complicity" and "Withdraw U.S. Troops Now" we enter the struggle with an attack on imperialism. We decided a long time ago to defend the colonial revolution—that's why we developed our present slogans. That's why we decided to go out and build a mass movement to accomplish that task.

Submitted By Carol O.



## I EVALUATION OF TORONTO EXPERIENCE

The Teach-in Campaign:

The goals projected for the campaign were: 1) to meet the vast majority of the students who were not involved in the anti-war movement and to educate students to be aware of the need to participate in demonstrations, 2) to meet the people most interested in SAWV with the perspective of forming a SAWV club with these people in their school and 3) to establish SAWV as the high school anti-war organization in Ontario.

The first stage of the campaign was the appeal for sponsors and financial support. Many sponsors were obtained and some money was received. Contact was made with the Faculty Committee on Vietnam.

The second stage of the campaign was the circulation of the petition. About 1600 names were collected. At Northern Secondary and Harbord Collegiates the principals both vetoed the circulation of the petitions. This was the basis for a confrontation which achieved publicity and thus forced the principals to back down. This was an issue of student power and the ability of an extra school committee to move out to the press won the confrontation.

During the course of the campaign there were new members signed up and new contacts made but none of this was exploited and as a result no new forces were made as a result of the campaign.

The concluding presentation and rally at Queens Park was disappointing for the participants. The article on the campaign in Dissent clearly showed the bureaucracy of the system and made the best out of a failure.

Evaluation of the Harbord NDY Club:

The struggle to form the NDY club began with the OYND campaign for partisan political clubs. The bureaucracy of the system led to the involvement of a core of people, two of whom were later to join the YS/LJS. When the club became established the next school year, the old grade 12 students of the core didn't become involved mainly because of the fifth form time table. A new layer of radicals became involved from the lower school as a result of the frequent and interesting speakers the club brought in during the second term. The involvement of the club in the SAWV teach-in campaign gave the club its first political experience. The members of the club distributed the petition assuming that students had the right to do so and when the principal refused them that right they encountered their first confrontation with the administration. When this news was publicized in the press, the entire school became conscious of the struggle and supported the people against the principal since the press didn't pick up the fact that the club was representing SAWV at the school. The success of the struggle led on to the Harbord Vietnam teach-in on Feb. 9 which brought 12.5% of the school. The last struggle came at the end of the year when the principal vetoed a meeting on "What's wrong with the educational system" and due to the primary anger of the students and the pressure of sponsor campaign the principal again backed down. Thus the club set a precedent for freedom of distribution of petitions and for freedom of a political club to be able to form its own meetings. The Harbord NDY club had a tremendous effect on the Ont. NDY convention electing one of our comrades to the provincial executive. The Harbord NDY club presented a paper to the convention on bringing the NDY into the anti-war movement which passed. It has had the effect of committing the NDY to participation in the demonstrations.

Evaluation of Oct. 21:

The high school leaflet for this demonstration was not made by SAWV and generally SAWV played a minor role in the preparation of it. As a result of the low strength of SAWV at this point, there were few high school students out.

Evaluation of April 6th:

This demonstration came out of a very successful conference, a Joan Baez meeting provided by the CP and the Easter holidays in which to organize. This was the biggest success that the high school has had with 300 students going to Ottawa or 3/5 of the Toronto contingent. This happened at a time when the rest of the anti-war movement began to decline! This single action resulted in the doubling of the number of high school students in the high school fraction.

Evaluation of April 26th:

Even though there were 300 students out on the previous demonstration, there were only 100 students out on this high school demonstration. This indicates our failure to keep in contact with the students after they had returned to their individual schools. On the other hand, in Aurora, King City and Ajax, at individual schools, there were successful rallies for the first time in those areas.

## II EVALUATION OF EDMONTON EXPERIENCE

Organizing around the October 21 demonstration we began to make our first good high school contacts, and after it were for the first time in a position to try to develop a high school Vietnam committee. The group of contacts didn't come alive again until around the April 27 demonstration, largely because a number of misleaders more or less red-baited our influence out of the committee, we didn't have any high school comrades at the time, and the group didn't do anything until April 27. They showed an anti-war film in a few schools and got a number of high school students out to the demonstration. There will still be potential in the fall to organize activities concerning the war in highschools but the small number of activists has so far prevented us from formalizing the structure of the committee to the point of giving it a name, or electing an executive and things. We have a "phoning lists" and we can mobilize it as opportunities arise.

The NDY had a big impact on the high school scene through the distribution of Confrontations. For a while they attracted a number of new students around in this way and had big pipe-dreams about organizing high school protests, which we finally put into reality with the contacts they had brought around. The NDY itself has just been too demoralized, and incompetent, to consolidate its new contacts and has virtually disappeared from the high school scene.

One of the most important high school rights episodes arose as the result of the banning of Confrontations in one school, and an underground newspaper was set up dealing mainly with doing exposures of the school system. It put out two issues before the end of the year. In that school as well there was a revolt against long hair regulations which culminated in a march of about 250 to the principal's office, complete with booing and throwing of apple cores. The subsequent administration suppression squelched further developments rather than escalating the protest. At another school we put out a leaflet for a student council election boycott, whose main result was to arouse furious lunch-time debates involving hundreds of students and to generally begin to make students rights a big issue in the school. All of these episodes were either directly initiated and led by ourselves or at least our contribution to them was significant. On the basis of these experiences we decided



that the idea of a city-wide high school newspaper would be a good next step in leading the students rights movement forward and the interest in this idea promises to make it a major field of work next year.

We have had considerable success in reaching high school contacts just through YSF sales. We have sunk roots in two schools just by doing sales and having people turn up at forums on this basis.

We now have three high school comrades in three schools, and more possibly coming in other schools. Two were recruited mainly out of anti-war work, and the latest exclusively from our open work (forums). Although we haven't recruited so much out of students rights work, one of the main reasons why these students joined was because of our well-worked out position on students rights which they are inspired by.

### III EVALUATION OF VANCOUVER EXPERIENCE

#### NDY:

The high school students in the NDY in Vancouver were not prepared to run any kind of campaign for NDY clubs in the schools. And generally the NDY declined in membership and activity this year. The NDY also didn't participate in the anti-war actions on any scale.

#### October 21:

In Vancouver we managed to mobilize 400-500 high school students to demonstrate and we made good inroads into the high schools by making many new contacts.

#### A27YCEWV and April 27:

It was mainly through the April 27 Youth Committee to End the War in Vietnam that we were able to attract high school students and get their active support in building the April 27 action. The A27YCEWV is a broad coalition of students from SFU, UBC, City College (VCC) and several high schools. On April 27th we got about 600 high school students out to demonstrate and they carried the most militant slogans

#### SAWV:

Although we still have no formal SAWV, the stage has been set to possibly form a city-wide SAWV in the near future. The basic problem in Vancouver is the distance high school students are from one another (geographically).

#### CYC & SDU in High School Organization:

The CYC in Vancouver tried to set up a high school union. They have contacts in 8-10 different high schools and we also participated with them to see what they were proposing and what we could do. So far little has happened, but in the field of program we are the only group which has any suggestions. (The student union initiated student power slates for student council in several schools. Our h.s. comrade was the main spark in the campaign in his school, and most of the members of the slate were elected.)

SDU on SFU has a section which is concerned with mobilizing high school students around student rights issues. Although they have many contacts in the high schools, so far little has been done in the way of organization.

Student Strike:

In Vancouver, high school students from 3 or different high schools in a working class area numbered about 400 when they refused to cross the picket lines of the striking janitors. This expresses a rising political awareness on the part of many high school students which must be organized and taken in a forward direction.

Underground Newspapers:

In Vancouver we met a contact who was the editor of an underground newspaper at one of the suburban schools. This paper printed articles opposed to the war and had a few radical students around it. Due to lack of time and know-how the paper was only a limited success. The SDU high school project is also in touch with students around underground papers in several suburban schools.

Problems with existing organizations:

NDY: The NDY is declining both on a provincial and federal level. The organization of the NDY is no longer a viable force in Canadian youth politics. The problem with putting our efforts into building high school NDY clubs on a cross-Canada level is 1) the organization to which these clubs would affiliate to is declining and 2) the right to form partisan political clubs only exists in the area under the Toronto Board of Ed. and nowhere else in Canada. This means a major campaign would have to be fought just to win the right to form the clubs. This is not feasible with the NDY in its present state.

In summary, we must maintain the NDY clubs which exist for they allow us to take up the questions of student rights, the war, and socialism and we must also be flexible in that if the situation arises for a struggle to form an NDY club which looks hopeful, we should lead it. But to follow this line as a general trend across Canada is not feasible at the present time.

SAWV: SAWV began as a Toronto city-wide high school organization involving students from several high schools. In the past year it has remained on a city-wide basis making a few inroads into individual schools on an informal basis. In other words, it has not succeeded in establishing itself as a legitimate active membership club in any Canadian schools.

The possibility of this occurring in the next period are slight since, due to its single issue character, we have found it more plausible to mobilize students on a city-wide basis rather than holding membership SAWV meetings in individual schools. Also the fact that SAWV clubs as political clubs are not allowed in any schools outside of Toronto proper does not facilitate organizing SAWV clubs in high schools since it would take a tremendous students rights campaign to achieve the right to form clubs.

At the present time SAWV clubs outside Toronto are not organized to carry this kind of a campaign which is essential if a well-planned coordinated campaign is to be carried. The nature of the single issue anti-war committee of SAWV doesn't facilitate a membership SAWV holding educational meetings in individual schools on sustained basis.

The perspective of SAWV at the present time is that of a coordinating membership groups which will initiate high school action on the war and mobilize the mass of students across the city. By making this the task of high school comrades in all the major cities across Canada we can lay the basis for a Canada-wide SAWV.



DISSENT: SAWV's publication Dissent should become more of an educational paper, carry more timeless articles and political evaluations of Vietnam as well as factual reports. It should aim at teaching the students the facts about the war rather than giving calendars of action. If at all possible it should come out more regularly.

In the past few years we have seen that the most successful high school demonstrations in terms of success, continuity and cross-Canada scope have been the high school anti-war demonstrations. These are the only demonstrations which have been organized at the high school level and have been organized by our movement.

Although student rights strikes and demonstrations occur frequently and generally attract great numbers often more than the anti-war demonstrations they are spontaneous, poorly organized and often without leadership, generally ending in failure. But due to the frequency of these actions there is a consistent base in the high schools for us to work from.

The problem which has plagued us for years is how do we reach the so far untouched mass of the high school student body, to lead them when such a crisis arises. There is no answer which can apply to every situation but in general at this time an underground newspaper could play a role in enabling us to take advantage of the explosive situation in Canadian high schools on students rights issues.

#### UNDERGROUND NEWSPAPERS

An underground newspaper around which a students rights group forms could be a very positive factor in maintaining a consistent level of students rights activity and also in uniting students from school to school. The editorial line of the paper would be democratically voted on by the membership of the students rights group. The basis for joining the group would be on a students rights basis, but the paper could carry articles on the war and other social issues. This group could initiate students rights action using the paper as its voice and reach students in other schools. The group would have to work on a non-exclusion policy.

This is not intended to be a description of the exact form these groups would take, only an example. The exact forms and method used would vary from place to place and we must be flexible accordingly. But in general a students rights group based around an underground newspaper with a non-exclusive policy towards membership would be able to carry a students rights campaign on a more consistent level than ever before.

Sue Claus

Abie Weisfeld.



YS/LJS  
INFORMATION  
BULLETIN

• 258

RESOLUTIONS  
adopted by the 1968  
Convention of the  
LSA - LSO

CONTENTS:

- (A) 1. Political Resolution (12pp)
- (B) 2. Quebec Resolution (11pp)
- (C) 3. Canada-U.S. Relations (6pp)
- (D) 4. Organizational Resolution (4pp + 2 missing)

Note: Several amendments to these resolutions were passed at the LSA/LSO Convention. They are not included in these texts

VOL. 4 NO. 8  
9

JULY 1968